The Ideology of the English Landscape Garden 1720-1750

by

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Contents

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Summary

My topic is the genesis of the English landscape garden 1720-1750. This was developed in Britain in the first half of the eighteenth century and has been called "emblematic or learned", since the visitor was expected to decipher its various meanings. These were often communicated through buildings, sculptures and inscriptions, and cumulatively conveyed through the sequences in which these features were arranged.

While historians have studied the iconography of some of those gardens (notably Stowe) in depth, there are areas which, though acknowledged, have yet to be dealt with thoroughly. These include the well-known "Chinese" connection, the details of the gardens' political status, the significance of the Venetian aspect of the Palladian revival, and the role of Freemasonry and masonic ideas. In this dissertation my aim has been to explore these various aspects showing how, if considered all together, they can help us to better understand the different meanings of the early landscape garden.

In the introduction I give a description of the early English landscape gardens. In the first part I discuss the importance of the Chinese gardens for the origins of the "idea of irregularity" in the new style of garden. Then in the second part I go on to investigate the eighteenth century political background and its connections with the architecture of the early landscape garden discussing the influence that the surviving myth of Venice had on Neo-Palladianism. Finally, I examine whether the garden contained buildings that could reflect masonic moral and architectural concepts.

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Introduction

Gardens are one of the best indexes to cultural history that one can find. Man has always created around him an environment that is a projection of his abstract ideas about nature. The garden can be considered as an evidence of these ideas because it plays its part in the world of senses and spirit. Thus to study gardens is to study the culture that produced them.

In the same way the early English landscape garden reflects the ideology of the period in which it was conceived. The term ideology stands for the philosophical, political and social ideas of the early eighteenth century English society which first created this art form.

I decided to concentrate on the period 1720-50 since this was the time when the new style of garden was still called "emblematic" expressing through its iconography a specific philosophical and political ideology. It was especially the political ideology which seemed to connect the most outstanding landowners of this period.

This same age is often referred as Walpolean era as it coincides with the Ministry of Robert Walpole. Robert Walpole more than any other Prime Minister brought the aristocracy back to the centre of English society, destroying the partial success of the Glorious Revolution (1688), since the bourgeoisie failed to emerge as a political force in the same measure as it emerged as social and economical one. As a consequence a new oppositional coalition developed : the Country Party, which was composed of disappointed Whigs and reformed Tories who

criticized the immorality of the Walpole government and the distortions of the old Whig ideals exercised by the Prime Minister and his circle.[1]

Many of these members of the opposition (Cobham, Lyttleton, Burlington, Bathurst, Bolingbroke) retired to the country either for choice or because of Walpole's dismissal and there they built their country houses and gardens. The country seat became a kind of "symbolic place" purified from the corruption of the city and government, a place which evoked and maintained in " people's sentiments about who they are and what they must do to retain their superior images of themselves and keep before them ...a superiority of their world"[2]. Dawley Farm, the country retreat of Bolingbroke, one of the advocates of the opposition, became the gathering place for politicians like Bathurst and the Pulteneys and for the Scriblerian wits Arbuthnot, Pope, Swift, Gay.[3] This opposition were not seeking *otium* in their landscape gardens, but a place to think about government. Although Buttlar first suggested the connection between the Opposition ideals and the development of the Georgian Country House, until now his ideas have never been followed up and fully developed.[4]

This new vogue for an irregular scenic and emblematic moralising garden, was accompanied by a revival of a geometrizing Neo-Palladianism in

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[1] J.R. Jones, Country and Court, England 1658-1714, London, 1978; J.H. Plumb, England in the Eighteenth Century, London, 1950; A. S. Foord, His Majesty's Opposition 1714-1830, Oxford, 1964; D. Jarret, "The Myth of Patriotism in Eighteenth Century English Politics", in J.S. Bromley and E.H. Kossman, Britain and the Netherlands, Vol. V, The Hague, 1975; W.A. Speck, Stability and Strife, London, 1977; Linda Colley, In Defiance of Oligarchy, Cambridge, 1982.

[2] W. Lloyd Warner, The Living and the Dead, New Haven, Yale 1959, p. 45.

[3] Goldgar Bertrand, Walpole and the Wits, Lincoln, 1976, p. 37.

[4] Adrian von Buttlar, Der englische Landsitz 1715-1760. Symbols eines liberalen Weltentwurfs, Mittelwald, 1982.

architecture.[5] John Summerson, referring to these two contradictory eighteenth-century tastes, wrote: "As the house crystallized into something elemental and inevitable, the conception of what its surroundings should be became fluid and accessible to sentiment".[6] In the same way Christopher Hussey in his pioneering study The Picturesque, sees the new garden style as a reaction to Palladian architecture. His assertion that a different development of style was taking place in architecture and gardening (Romanticism could not radically affect this stronghold of reason and symmetry till it was at full strength [7]) confirms his ideas of an existing contradiction between Palladian mansion and landscape garden. Rudolf Wittkower, however, suggested that Palladianism and the landscape garden should not be seen as contradictory, being the product of the same Enlightenment ideals. Other authors like Kenneth Woodbridge and George Clark explained how contemporary political issues and classical culture could have played an important part in the planning of gothic and classical buildings of Stourhead and Stowe gardens.[8] While other scholars like Maynard Mack, Morris Brownell and Peter Martin concentrated on Pope's ideas and feelings about gardens, explaining the backgrounds and canvases against which Pope

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[5] Rudolf Wittkower, Palladio and the English Palladianism, London, 1974; John Harris, Georgian Country Houses, Feltham, 1964; Giles Worsley, Classical Architecture in Britain, Yale University Press, 1995.

[6] J. Summerson, Architecture in Britain 1530-1830, London, 1970, p. 345.

[7] Christopher Hussey, The Picturesque, a Study in a Point of View, London, 1927, 1962.

[8] Rudolf Wittkower, "English Neo-palladianism, The Landscape Garden, China and the Enlightenment," Arte, n. 6, 1969, pp. 18-35; Kenneth Woodbridge, Landscape and Antiquity: Aspects of English Culture at Stourhead 1718-1838, Oxford, 1970, see also "Temi classici e gotici nel giardino paesagistico inglese del XVIII secolo" Lotus International, n. 30, 1981, pp. 26-35; George Clark, Furor Hortensis, Essays on the History of the English Landscape Garden, Edinburgh, 1974, see also "Grecian taste and Gothic virtue", Apollo, June, XCVIII, 1973, pp. 566-571, "Signor Fido and the Stowe Patriots", Apollo, n. 122, Oct-Dec., 1985, pp. 248-251.

landscaped.[9] John Dixon Hunt analyzed the symbolic and literary importance of the poet's thinking about gardens, landscapes and grottoes in his work The Figure in the Landscape. Painting and Gardening during Eighteenth Century.[10] While in another book Garden and Grove. The Italian Renaissance Garden in the English Imagination 1600-1750 ,[11] he shows what English made of the Italian garden experience. All these authors have commented on and written about the development of "informality" in the landscape garden. When seeking to explain it they have tended to pass by what influence Chinese examples might have had, despite lip service having been traditionally paid to this, Siren's book China and gardens of Europe (1950) remains the only scholarly analysis of the phenomenon. One of the aims of this thesis will be to investigate these Chinese connections by showing the importance of Chinese culture in the eighteenth century. Moreover the revival of Palladio in eighteenth-century architecture has generally been dealt with separately from the history of gardens, thus forgetting that the same people who built these Palladian country houses were also responsible for the first changes in garden design. [12]

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[9] Maynard Mack, The Garden and the City: Retirement and Politics in the Later Poetry of Pope 1731-1743, London, Oxford University Press, 1969; Morris Brownell, Alexander Pope and the Arts of Georgian England, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1978; Peter Martin, Pursuing Innocent Pleasures: the Gardening World of Alexander Pope, Hamden, Connecticut, Archon Books, 1984.

[10] John Dixon Hunt, The Figure in the Landscape: Painting and Gardening during the Eighteenth Century, Baltimore, Maryland, 1976.

[11] John Dixon Hunt, Garden and Grove. The Italian Renaissance Garden in the English Imagination 1600-1750, London, 1986.

[12] John Harris, The Artist and the Country House, a History of Country House and Garden View Painting in Britain 1540-1870, London, 1985; see also by the same author, Georgian Country Houses, London, 1964; Olive Cook, The English Country House, London, 1984; G. Jackson-Stops, The English Country House, London, 1985; Dutton R. The English Country House, London, 1962; Christopher Hussey, English Country houses Early Georgian 1715-1760, London, 1955.

Art historians have usually interpreted the revival of Palladio as an artistic expression of a new powerful Whig class, in the same way as the Baroque style has been identified with the Tory party. In this respect Downes writes: " The Whig Government was not interested in royal buildings...the court-style did not turn palladian... architecture ceased to be a court activity."[13] This critical vision, which polarises the political forces, Whig and Tories, and attributes a distinct style to each party, rather simplifies a much more complex situation.

During the first part of the eighteenth century and especially in the 1720s there was a continuous movement of members from the Tory to the Whig party with the only target of keeping control of power. On the other hand, Whigs after having established their position in government and especially under the leadership of Walpole, abandoned many of their original political ideals and began to conduct a policy which in practice was very similar to that of the Tories, with whom they shared the same oligarchic conception of power.

In the face of this we cannot attribute the Neo-Palladian style to a specific class but rather suggest that the architecture of the country house as well as that of the landscape garden expresses the ideals of those people (Whigs or Tories) who criticized Walpole's corrupt and immoral administration.

In addition, many of these landowners were freemasons and the importance of freemasonry for the development of society in the eighteenth century, for overcoming religious, class and political barriers is common knowledge.[14] Until recently, apart from two articles and a recent study[15], this

[13] K. Downes, English Baroque Architecture, London, 1966, p. 7.
[14] Margaret C. Jakobs, Living the Enlightenment, Freemasonry and Politics in Eighteenth Century Europe, Oxford, 1991.

topic has regrettably remained almost untouched and if we turn to the landscape garden, there has been little research into whether and in what manner Freemasons could have had any effect on the layout and design of the early landscape gardens, save for Geza Hajos's work Romantische Gärten der Aufklarung: Englische Landschaftkultur des 18 Jahrhunderts in und um Wien (1989), which deals primarily with gardens in the Vienna area, we find only occasional excursus on the topic [16]. But once we understand the pervasiveness of masonic ideas we realize the importance of this secret society as part of eighteenth-century culture. Universalism, tolerance, interest in the writing of people that the church regarded as heretics and borrowing from exotic cultures including China, were features of the Enlightenment and of the tastes of those eighteenth century figures who were to embrace Freemasonry. Moreover, the existing contacts between English and Venetian freemasons would connect into the broader historical enquiry as to whether there were political reasons for English "Palladian" architects to look at the Veneto. Lord Burlington among all the new Palladians partook in that cosmopolitan enlightenment linked with the masonic circles; he had close contacts with the avant-garde Venetian intellectuals Francesco Algarotti, Scipione Maffei and Giovanni Poleni with whom he shared the same conception of the relation between architecture and politics.

Therefore, there were many elements that contributed to the origins of this complex phenomenon, the landscape garden and I aim to examine the several

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[15] Anthony Vidler,"The Architecture of the Lodges", in Oppositions, Vol. 5, Summer 1976, pp. 75-97;
James Stevens Curl, Art and Architecture of Freemasonry, B.T. Batsford Ltd., London, 1991;
Jane Clark, "Palladianism and the Divine Right of Kings", Apollo, April 1992, pp. 224-228.

[16] Günter Hartmann, Die Ruine im Landschaftgarten, Worms, 1981.

contributory strands and suggest how they could fuse into a coherent phenomenon. In so doing I intend to emphasize the importance of garden history as a window into the past capable of recapturing much that would otherwise be lost or remain nebulous in the areas of history of ideas, literature, politics, social and economic history.

In the first part of my thesis I shall show the importance of the knowledge of Chinese gardens for the genesis of the "idea of irregularity" in the new style of garden. I also will demonstrate how Chinese government was held as example by the Opposition writers who used Chinese fables to show up the defects of Walpole's government.

In the second part I shall than go onto investigate the eighteenth-century political background and its connection with the architecture of the early landscape garden. Here I describe the iconography of the Georgian landscape gardens showing how they convey the same political ideals, which were those of the Opposition. In this part I shall also discuss the architecture of the country house suggesting that it expresses similar ideas to the architecture of the garden. I also explain how the appraisal of the civic and moral virtues of the Venetian government could have had a strong influence on the choice of Palladian villas as models for the Georgian country houses.

In the last part after an excursus on the history of Freemasonry I shall examine how Freemasons' belief in the classical style as a "moral style" had the same semantic value that oppositional circles attributed to it and whether the English landscape garden of the first half of the eighteenth century contained buildings that could reflect masonic moral and architectural concepts.

The cosmopolitan masonic society seems also to have strengthened the links between the Venetian eighteenth century cultural élite and the English connoisseurs, thus allowing a continuous exchange of political and artistic ideals between England and Venice. This exchange was suggested by the existence of a contemporary Palladian revival in Veneto and by the diffusion of enlightened avant-garde ideals conveyed through a certain kind of Venetian paintings that only the initiated could "read".

The Early English Landscape Garden

John Evelyn, declared that gardens are:

> ...a place of all terrestriall enjoyments the most resembling Heaven and the best representation of our lost felicity. It is the common term and the pit from whence we were dug; we all came out of the parsley-bed - at least according to the creed of a poet [Lucretius, V, 807-810]. As no man can be very miserable that is master of a gardeen here; so will no man ever be happy who is not sure of a garden hereafter. From thence we came, and thither we tend; where the first Adam fell, the second arose. Kings, philosophers, and wise men spent their choicest hours in them; and when they would frame a type Heaven because there is nothing in nature more worthy and illustrious, they describe a garden, and call it Elysium.[1]

Ever since the expulsion from the Garden of Eden the idea of recreating an ideal nature in which humanity could lead an idyllic life has had a strong intellectul appeal in Europe. The idea of the *locus amoenus* originated in classical antiquity. This was a place of luxury and delight often defined as a beautiful garden, defended on all sides by high walls and kept apart from everyday life and troubles - a *hortus conclusus* - as it was called in the Middle

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[1] John Evelyn, Elysium Britannicus, pt. I, Chap. I, unpublished MS in the Library of Christ Church in Oxford.

Ages. The man-made garden thus has its origins not simply as a utilitarian means of providing food but as an ideal, utopian, Arcadian world. This vision may have taken very different forms over the centuries but retained its original meaning throughout the first half of the eighteenth century.

As Joseph Addison, one of the foremost promoters of the landscape garden maintained:

> A Garden ... is naturally apt to fill the Mind with Calmness and Tranquillity and to lay all its turbulent Passions at Rest. It gives us a great Insight into the Contrivance and Wisdom of Providence, and suggests innumerable subjects for Meditation. I cannot but think the very Complacency and Satisfaction which Man takes in these works of Nature, to be a laudable, if not a virtuous Habit of Mind... [2]

The landscape garden developed by Englishmen in the first half of the eighteenth century has been called by Paulson the "poetic garden or emblematic, learned garden[3]"in order to distinguish it from Capability Brown's smoothly-flowing parkland from which statues, temples, obelisks, funerary urns (with their mythic and political associations) were removed. Visitors to this early landscape garden, were expected to decipher the various meanings of it. What they saw was

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[2] Joseph Addison, The Spectator, n. 477, 6 September 1712.
[3] Ronald Paulson, Emblem and Expression:Meaning in English Art of the Eighteenth Century, London, 1979, p. 20.

virtually a page from an emblem book, and page followed page as they strolled along the garden path.[4] At Stowe for example, visitors were encouraged to follow a prescribed path which at times was passing along the very verge of the garden, at times along the lake, then near a Temple of Ancient and Modern Virtue, a Gothic Temple, a Hermitage, a grotto and so on. These and other garden ornaments were part of a comprehensive iconographic programme, specifically designed to express the political view of the garden's owner. In some of these gardens, the visitor was supplied with benches which bore mottoes that contributed to the deciphering of the meanings of the scenes he could see from that point and on which he was supposed to meditate. Other mottoes or quotations from classical literary works (like Virgil's Aeneid) or contemporary ones (like Thomsons' Seasons) were inscribed on monuments, obelisks, urns.

The eighteenth-century architect Robert Morris, commenting on the scenes of which this sort of garden was composed, wrote in 1730 that its function should be as a place to retire and "contemplate the Important Themes of Human Life". Therefore, the garden should be laid out in segments which offered a multiplicity of contrasting prospects:

> Care should be taken so to lay out and dispose the several Parts, that the Neighbouring Hills, the Rivulets, the Woods and little Buildings interspers'd in various Avenues,... should render the Spot a kind of agreeable Disorder, or artful Confusion; so that by

[4] H.F. Clark, "Eighteenth Century Elysium, The Role of Association in the Landscape Movement" Journal of Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, Vol. VI, 1943, pp. 165-89.

> shifting from Scene to Scene, and by serpentine or winding Paths, one should, as it were, accidentally fall upon some remarkable beautiful Prospect, or other pleasing Object...[5]

The English landscape garden has conventionally been treated as an early eighteenth- century reaction to the formal geometry of the French and Dutch garden styles. The ideal of the French layout was Versailles with its dominant palace, axial and radial avenues and its vistas. Within this framework were intricate parterres, canals, bosquettes, statuary, triumphal arches and domes. The garden provided a majestic setting for the fireworks displays, theatrical performances and all the arts of the fête galantes of courtly life. Throughout Europe this kind of garden became a necessary adjunct to every great house or palace[6] as we see in England at Hampton Court (Fig.1), Melbourne (Derbyshire), Longleat (Wiltshire). Dutch contributions, especially during the reign of William and Mary who brought their tastes with them from the Netherlands in 1688, consisted of a greater use of clipped evergreens (topiary) and division of the garden area into somewhat smaller beds and statues.[7]

But statuary had been just as crucial an element of Italian Renaissance gardens, on which the French and Dutch drew, and French water gardens were modelled upon Italian predecessors like Villa d'Este at Tivoli.[8] The Italian

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[5] Robert Morrris, Lecture X in Lectures on Architecture, 1734, p. 161, Reprint Farmborough 1970
[6] Christopher Thacker, The History of Gardens, London, 1979, pp.147-162.
[7] Ibid., p. 168.
[8] A Tagliolini, Ville e Giardini di Roma nelle incisioni di Giovan Battista Falda, Milano, 1979; Jellicoe & J.C. Shepherd, Italian gardens of the Renaissance, London, 1966.

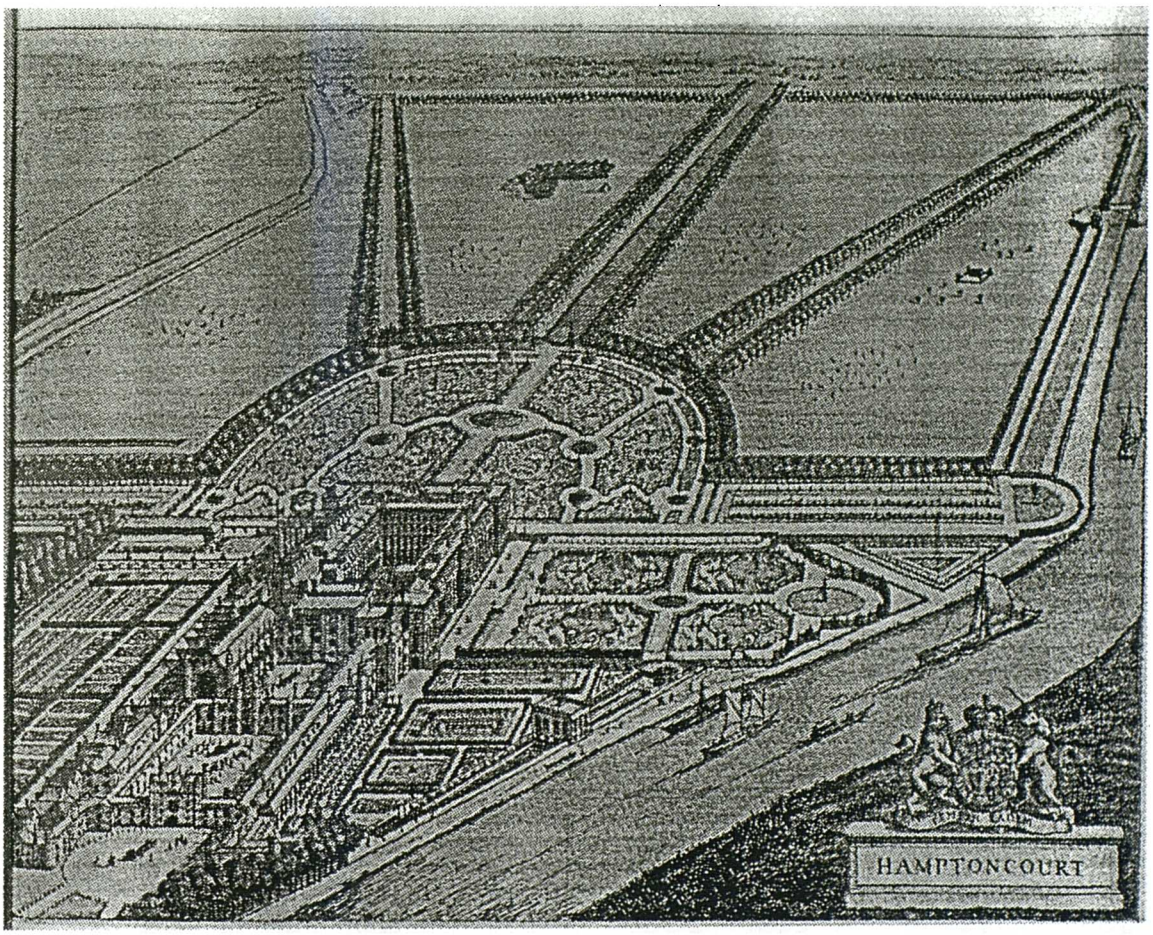

Fig. 1 Kip and Knyff's drawing of Hampton Court, c. 1700

example, praised by Henry Wotton and John Evelyn among others, was transmitted mainly through France.

The English reaction to French gardens, which involved the shunning of regularity in design and the increasing appeal to "nature" gave rise to the landscape garden, started in the early 1700s. Various studies have detailed the literary qualities of the new style[9] and the influence of such writers as Addison, Pope and philosophers like Shaftesbury and Sir William Temple whose essay Upon the Gardens of Epicurus in 1685 (to be discussed later) maintained that the Chinese used extraordinary dispositions of Nature in their gardens and prophetically illuminated new trends in garden layouts. As early as 1712, Joseph Addison asserted that: " There is something more bold and masterly in the rough careless Stroke of Nature, than in the nicer Touches and Embelishments of Art " and he lamented that English gardeners " instead of humouring Nature, have deviated from it as much as possible " and to illustrate this point he referred to topiary work:

> Our Trees rise in Cones, Globes and Pyramids. We see the Marks of the Scissars upon every Plant and Bush. I do not know whether I am singular in my Opinion, but, for my own part, I would rather look upon a Tree in all its Luxuriancy and Diffusion of Boughs

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[9] Malins Edwards, English Landscaping and Literature 1660-1840, Oxford University Press, London, 1966; Morris Brownell., Alexander Pope and the Art of Georgian England, Oxford, 1978; Peter Martin, Pursuing Innocent Pleasures, the Gardening world of Alexander Pope, Hamden Connecticut 1984; Maynard Mack, The Garden and the City, Retirement and Politics in the later Poetry of Pope 1731-1743, London, 1969.

> and Branches, than when it is thus cut and trimmed into a Mathematical Figure; and cannot but fancy that an Orchard in Flower looks infinitely more delightful, than all the little Labyrinths of the most finished Parterre...[10]

Addison was famously followed by Pope, who wrote an essay in The Guardian 173 of September 1713 in which he tells the readers that as gardeners they should be guided by the "Simplicity of unadorned Nature" and satirises the pervasive taste for topiary and other "Fantastical Operations of Art". [11]

However at the beginning of the eighteenth century the protests against the formal style were largely theoretical: neither Temple nor Addison had offered visual suggestions of how their ideas might be translated into practise. It was Stephen Switzer who tried to give a practical turn to these theories. He was neither a gentleman nor a philosopher, but a professional gardener and he was the first to apply the idea of an open landscape to the theory of garden design in a logical manner. He favoured what he called " Rural Gardening". The essence of this approach was that estate management rather than the idle pleasures of gardens, was the key to both the pleasurable and the profitable enjoyment of the countryside. His ideas were first set down in The Nobleman, Gentleman and Gardener's Recreation (1715) an enlarged edition of which appeared in 1718 under the title of Ichonographia Rustica. The basic feature was to place the

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[10] Joseph Addison, The Spectator, n. 414, 25 June 1712.
[11] Alexander Pope, The Guardian, n. 173, 13 September 1713.

country house in an open rural setting while still allowing a place for a regular garden near the house (Fig. 2). In the Preface of his work Switzer writes:

> And since all agree, that Pleasures of a Country Life can't possibly be contained within the narrow Limits of the greatest Garden; woods; Fields, and distant Inclosures should have the care of the industrious and laborious Planter: Neither would I...advise the immuring, or, as it were, the imprisoning by Walls (however expensive they are in making) too much us'd of late; but where-ever Liberty will allow, would throw my Garden open to all View to the unbounded Felicities of distant Prospect, and the expansive volumes of Nature herself. In the mean time I preserve some private Walks and Cabinets of Retirement, some select Places of Recess for Reading and Contemplation...This method I have propos'd well manag'd, will, I hope, very much abridge the Expence of making and keeping Gardens, and will yet add very much to their magnificence, when, for the Enlargement of their view, all the neighbouring Fields, Paddocks, etc., shall make an additional Beauty to the Gardens, and by an easy, unaffected manner of Fencing, shall appear to be part of it, and look as if the adjacent Country were all a Garden.[12]

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[12] Stephen Switzer, Ichonografia Rustica or the Nobleman, Gentleman and Gardener's Recreation, Volume II, 1718, 1742.

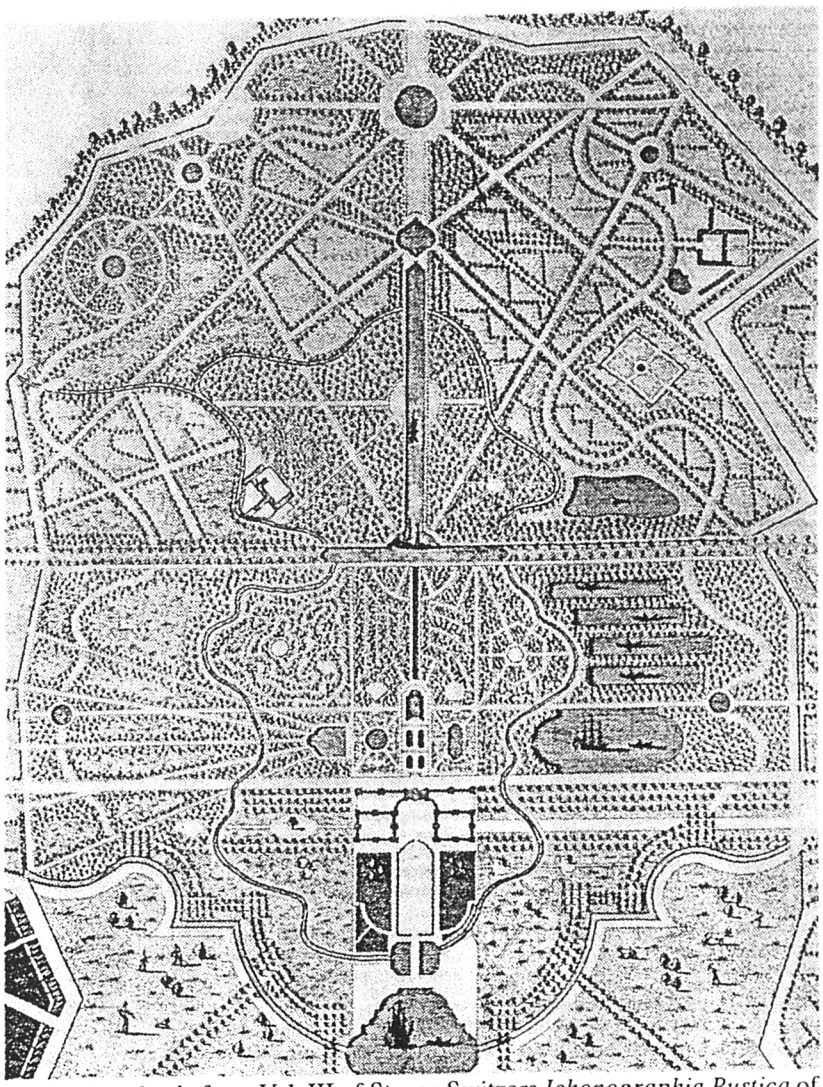

Fig.2 The plan is from Vol. III of Steven Switzers *Ichonographia Rustica* of 1718. Here the great formal gardens and main avenue are surrounded by a series of formal and semiformal patterns through the surrounding woodlands.

The motif which made Switzer's idea of calling in the country possible was the ha-ha. The gardener Charles Bridgeman (d. 1738) who worked at gardens like Eastbury, Stowe, Blenheim, Claremont is considered the first in England to have incorporated this feature into his schemes[13]. Switzer was therefore referring to what had actually already become garden practice and his ideas were most probably influenced by A.J. Dézallier d'Argenville's book, La Théorie et la pratique du Jardinage (Paris 1709 trans. 1712), which defines the ha-has as:

> Openings in the Walls, without Grills, to the very level of the Walks, with a large and deep Ditch at the Foot of them lined on both Sides to sustain the Earth, and prevent the getting over, which surprizes the Eye upon coming near it, and makes one cry Ah, Ah! from whence it takes its name...[14]

The first step then towards the new style was the disappearance of boundaries between Garden and Country, the second was the recreation inside the garden of a notional equivalent to the natural country landscape. For this, the credit has been given to William Kent who : " leaped the fence and saw that all nature was a garden ".[15] By 1733 Kent ,who had begun life as a painter, became Lord Burlington's partner and designer. After 1720, at Lord Burlington's country seat, Chiswick, he naturalised the canals, created the Arcadian vista from the back

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[13] Peter Willis, Charles Bridgeman, Edinburgh, 1974.
[14] A.J. Dézallier d'Argenville, The Theory and Practice of Gardening, London, 1712, trans. J. James , pp. 28, 77.
[15] Horace Walpole, On Modern Gardening in : Anecdotes of Painting, III, 1862, p. 801.

of the villa to the exedra, and shaped the rustic cascade. At about the same time we can date the plans for the garden around Holkham for Thomas Coke where he worked in collaboration with the owner and Lord Burlington. From 1730 he was working for Prince Frederick I at Kew. He also landscaped the garden at Esher (Henry Pelham) Claremont (Thomas Pelham, Duke of Newcastle) and his most significant garden at Stowe (Lord Cobham). He was employed by Queen Caroline (Richmond, Kensington) and at the end of the 30s he shaped for James Dormer the landscape garden of Rousham[16].

The responsibility for establishing the English landscape garden lies, however, in the collaboration of architects and landscapists: Kent and Bridgeman worked together with architects like Vanbrugh, Gibbs, and distinguished amateurs like Burlington. As Switzer advised, " When you first begin to build and make Gardens, the Gardener and Builder ought to go Hand in Hand and to consult together"[17]. This consultation determined not only the relationship of house to grounds, but it ensured that a landscape was embellished with buildings and here Vanbrugh (1664-1726) with his progressive ideas on landscape and the imagination to explore new relationships between buildings and garden, set a

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[16] Leo Schmidt, "Holkham Hall", Norfolk, Country Life, January 24, 1980, pp. 214-217; Michael Symes, "The landscape of Esher Place", Journal of Garden History, Vol. 8, n. 4, 1988, pp.63-96; John Harris," The beginnings of Claremont", Apollo, n. 137, 1993, pp. 223-226; G.B. Clarke," William Kent. Heresy in Stowe's Elysium" in P. Willis Foror Hortensis. Essays on the History of the English landscape garden, Edinburgh, 1974, pp. 48-56; J.M. Robinson, Temples of Delight, Stowe landscape gardens, London, 1990; Michael Bevington, "The development of the classical revival at Stowe", Architectura, , n. 21, 1991, pp.136-163; Kenneth Woodbridge, "William Kent's Gardening : The Rousham Letters", in Apollo, Vol. 100, 1974, pp. 282-291; Mavis Batey, "The way to view Rousham by Kent' s gardener", Garden History, Vol. 11, n. 2, 1983, pp.125-132; Moggridge H. , "Notes on Kent Garden at Rousham", Journal of Garden History, , Vol. 6, n. 3, 1986, pp. 187-226; D.R. Coffin," The Elysian Fields of Rousham", Proceeding of the Americam Philosophical Society, Vol. 130, n. 4 , 1986, pp. 406-423.

[17] Stephen Switzer, op. cit.,Vol. II, p. 154.

strong example. Vanbrugh's work in such gardens as Eastbury (1718), Claremont (1717), Castle Howard (1719) and Stowe (1724) was largely to design buildings which were to be incorporated in the landscape.[18]

The authority for much architectural design was antiquity mediated by Italian Renaissance theory and practice. Among all Renaissance architects, Palladio was the most imitated and half of the country came to boast a Palladian mansion of some distinction, as Ralph Allen did at Prior Park, Lord Burlington at Chiswick or Thomas Coke at Holkham[19]. As mansions and gardens in the modern style increased, this interest in gardening and architecture grew into a fashionable hobby. People of a certain social status chattered about their houses and gardens and travellers made it their business to see these creations of taste. At the same time in more exclusively gardenist publications like Castell's Villas of the Ancients Illustrated (1728) there was the same anxiety as in architecture, to base contemporary practice in gardening upon classical examples. Castell based his study upon the Younger Pliny's famous letters that describe his villa at Tusculum and Laurentum (Fig. 3) Castell's enquiry into Pliny's villas both

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[18] Kerry Downs, Vanbrugh, London, 1977; see also Peter Willis, op. cit., p. 44-50; John Vanbrugh was the first (in a letter of June 11, 1709 to the Duchess of Marlborough) to express clearly the eighteenth century concern for both the associative and aesthetic qualities of a ruin in his tragic argument with the duchess of Malborough over the remains of the medieval manor of Woodstock on the grounds of the new Blenheim Palace he was designing to celebrate the duke's victory at Blenheim. See The Complete Works of Sir John Vanbrugh, IV: The Letters, ed. Geoffry Webb, London, 1928, pp. 27-30.

[19] Peter Martin, op.cit., pp. 207-230; Benjamin Boyce, The Benevolent Man, A Life of Ralph Allen of Bath, Massachusetts, 1967, pp. 98-140; T. Walter, "Hubris and Humility, Prior Park , Ralph Allen of Bath", Landscape, Vol. 29, n. 3, 1987, pp. 24-31; C. Maria Sicca, "Lord Burlington and Chiswick, Architecture and Landscape", Garden History, Vol. 10, n. 31, 1982, pp. 36-69; T. Spence, "Chiswick House and its gardens" 1726-1732, Burlington Magazine, Vol. 135, 1993, pp. 525-531; J. Harris, The Palladian Revival, Burlington his villa and garden at Chiswick, catalogue of the Royal Academy of Art exibition, London, 1995; S. Blancs, "The Chiswick House of Lord Burlington", Connaissance des Artes, n. 514, 1995, pp. 110-125; James Lees Milne, Earls of Creation, London, 1962, pp. 222-261.

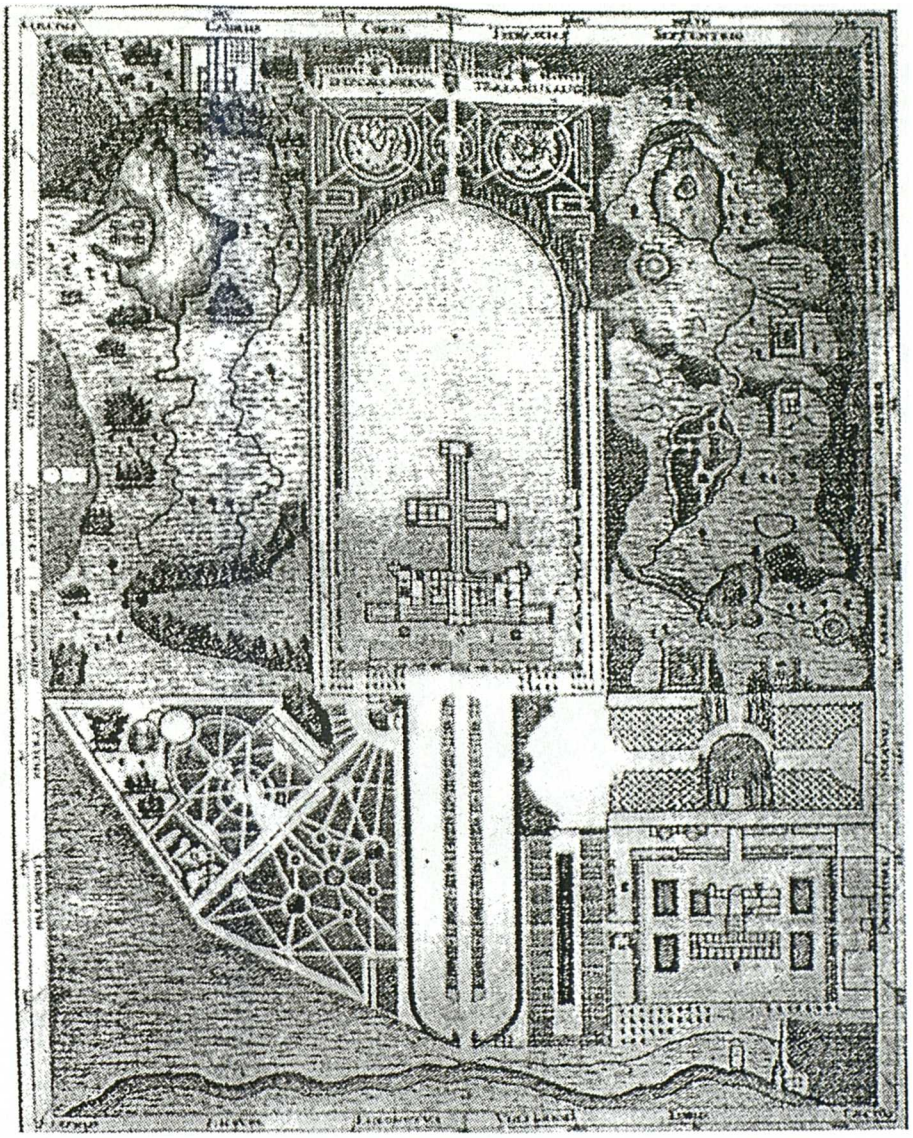

Fig. 3 Robert Castell's reconstructed plan of Pliny's villa at Tusculum. Engraving from *Villas of the Ancients Illustrated* 1728.

confirmed and promoted the usage of temples and other classical structures which dotted the early English landscape garden as this quotation about Chiswick proves:

> Every walk terminates with some little Building, one with a Heathen Temple, for instance the Pantheon, another little villa, where my Lord often dines instead of his House, and which is capable of receiving a tolerably large Family; another walk terminates with a Portico, in imitation of Covent Garden Church.[20]

Classical temples and statues were not the only buildings to be found in these gardens, for it was as appropriate to Britain's cultural history to provide ruins in the Gothic taste. The castellated brick belvedere of Claremont (1717) designed by Vanbrugh (Fig. 42), together with the Gothic folly in Tyrell's garden at Shotover (1719),[21] were some of the earliest mock-medieval follies in England[22] (Fig. 126). More fortunate gardens could incorporate genuine ruins on the site, as Shenstone did at The Leasowes[23] or Aislabie did at Studley Royal, where the territory around the gardens was extended to include the magnificent remains of Fountains Abbey. The richest in such follies was Stowe. Here Vanbrugh, Gibbs, Bridgeman and Kent created the most magnificent and admired

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[20] Macky John, A Journey through England in Familiar Letters from a Gentleman Here to His Friend Abroad, 3 Vols., London, 1722, Vol. I, p. 61.
[21] Mavis Batey, Oxford Gardens, Oxford, 1982, p. 1, 102, 106-108
[22] Peter Willis, op. cit., p. 48.
[23] John Riely, "Shenstone's Walks: The Genesis of the Leasowes", Apollo, Vol. 110, 1979, pp. 202-209; J. Sambrook, "Parnell Garden Tours: Hagley and Leasowes", Eighteenth Century Life, Vol. 8, n. 2, 1983, p. 51-68.

garden of early and mid-eighteenth century England. Bridgeman determined its basic structure in 1720, later Vanbrugh, Gibbs and Kent added Temples and other buildings. With its open and closed areas, its buildings, and the integration of the landscape into the garden, Stowe provides us with a brilliant example of the co-operation of art with nature. Furthermore Stowe is well documented providing an invaluable example in which to study the scope and the progress of English gardening[24]. From the 1730s onwards other patrons started to modernise their gardens according to Kent's schemata, these included: the Earl of Pembroke's garden at Wilton, Mereworth (Earl of Westmoreland), Goodwood (Duke of Richmond), Wotton (Grenville brothers) , Stourhead (Henry Hoare), Hagley (Lord Lyttleton), West Wycombe (Frances Dashwood) and Pains Hill (Charles Hamilton and William Pitt)[25].

Together with classical and Gothic structures, two other architectural forms, were used as ornaments in the garden: the pyramid and the obelisk. The

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[24] Gilbert West, Stowe, The Gardens of the Right Honourable Richard Viscount Cobham, London, 1732 and William Gilpin, A Dialogue upon the Gardens of the Right Honourable the Lord Viscount Cobham at Stow in Buckinghamshire, London, 1748. Together with these contemporary descriptions, there were also Seely's guides and various sets of engravings starting with those issued in 1739 by Sarah Bridgeman.

[25]John Bold, Wilton and English Palladianism, London, 1988, pp. 80-93; Kenneth Woodbridge, "Henry Hoare's Paradise", Art Bulletin, Vol. 47, 1965, pp. 83-116; Malcom Kelsall, "The Iconography of Stourhead", Journal of Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, Vol. 47, 1983, pp. 133-143; M.Charlesworth, "On meeting Hercules in Stourhead garden", Journal of Garden History, Vol. 9, n. 2, pp. 71-75; Gordon Nares,"Hagley Hall", Worcestershire, Country Life, 19, 1957, pp. 546-611; E. Bulmer, "Lyttleton at Hagley Hall. The problem of patronage", Transactions of the Ancient Monuments Society, Vol. 30, 1986, pp. 92-119; Francis Dashwood," Sir Francis Dashwood and West Wycombe", Connoisseur year book, 1955, pp. 3-12; James Sambrook," Pains Hill park in the 1760's", Garden History, Vol. VIII, n. 1, Spring 1980, pp. 91-105; P. Deitz," Painshill Park", Surrey, Magazine Antique, Vol. 139, n. 6, 1991, p. 1118-1119; M Symes, "Nature as the Bride of Art. The Design and Structure of Painshill", Eighteenth Century Life, Vol. 8, n. 2, 1983, p.965.

importance of these structures is indicated by the following poem about Castle Howard:

> From ev'ry Place you cast your wand'ring Eyes,
> You view gay Landskips, and new Prospects rise,
> There a Green Lawn bounded with Shady Wood,
> Here Downy Swans sport in a Lucid Flood.
> Buildings the proper Points of View adorn,
> Of Grecian, Roman and Egyptian Form.[26].

Pyramids were extremely popular. The architects Sir John Vanbrugh and Nicholas Hawksmoor would seem to have been the major exponents in the early eighteenth century of their use in the garden. At Castle Howard in Yorkshire Vanbrugh built massive walls south of the house flanking the approach road and constructed one entrance gateway (Fig. 79) consisting of a cubical block cut by an arched passageway and surmounted by a heavy pyramid (1719). He also designed for Stowe a stepped pyramid which no longer exists (Fig.27), while Hawksmoor designed a pyramid to decorate the landscape at Castle Howard[27] (Fig.78). That same year Pope wrote his friend Lord Bathurst at Cirencester

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[26] Anonymous, from Castle Howard, 1733 in John Dixon Hunt and Peter Willis, The Genius of the Place, The English Landscape Garden 1620-1820. London 1975, p.228

[27] Charles Saumarez Smith, The Building of Castle Haward, London, 1991; J. M. Robinson, op. cit; pag. 74.

advising him to build a pyramid rather than an obelisk if he wanted a lasting and solid monument in the grounds of his house[28].

William Kent in about 1735 placed a stepped pyramid over the central block of his Temple of British Worthies at Stowe and others included William Aislabie at Studley Royal in Yorkshire who erected a pyramid in 1742 and Lord Fortescue at Castle Hill (late 1720)[29].

Amongst other characteristic garden buildings were Hermitages or roothouses (Hagley, Mereworth, The Leasowes) or Druidic Temples (Stourhead). In 1730 William Kent built a Hermitage for Queen Caroline in her garden at Richmond. The exterior was built roughly with some traces of ruin to suggest the idea of an old rustic hut[30] (Fig. 127). The heterogeneity of these garden buildings - pyramids alongside Gothic follies, hermitages conjoined with classical temples - is striking and will be discussed below. Before so doing, we need to analyse the formal structure of some of these Georgian landscape gardens: the most complex and creative artistic statement of eighteenth century England.

Gardens must be considered as much an art form as literature, painting and music since, like those arts, they can convey sensations and emotions, stimulate ideas and associations. Indeed the garden is unique among the arts because rather than imitating nature it is formed out of nature. But exactly for this reason among the arts it is the most ephemeral and changeable one. Moreover, unlike other

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[28] G. Sherburn ed. , The Correspondence of Alexander Pope, Vol. 2, Oxford, 1956, p. 517

[29]Kenneth Woodbridge," Landscaping at Castle Hill," Country Life, January 4, 1979,pp.18-20; J.M.Robinson, op. cit., 74-75; R. Harlam,"Studley Royal, North Yorkshire", Country Life, Mar. 27, n. 179, 1986, pp .802-5.

[30] C. M. Sicca, "Like a Shallow Cave by Nature Made. William Kent's Natural Architecture at Richmond", Architectura, 1986, pp.68-82, Judith Colton," Merlin's Cave and Queen Caroline, Garden art as Political Propaganda", Eighteenth Century Studies, Vol. 10, 1976, pp.1-20.

forms, the movement and progress of the perceiving subject is absolutely essential in creating a garden's aesthetic effect. Visiting a garden, walking within it, lasts over a period of time during which scenes will open up in a succession in part determined by the routes chosen by the visitor. Hardly any of the Georgian landscape gardens that I will describe below, have maintained until today their original state. Some were altered by later owners to reflect their different garden tastes, others either no longer exist or are now ruined. But thanks to engravings and the guide-books written by contemporary travellers we can reconstruct some of the original aspects of these early Georgian landscape gardens. Touring for the purpose of visiting gardens became a popular amusement among eighteenth-century English connoisseurs and stimulated the publication of local guide books with detailed descriptions of houses and gardens[31]. Some of these extensive works were James Beeverell's Delices de la Grand Bretagne et l'Irlande (1707) Johannes Kip's Britannia Illustrata (1707-8)[32], Daniel Defoe's A Tour thro' the Whole Island of Great Britain (1742). Letter-writers and diarists also faithfully recorded their impression of the estates that they visited. The diarist John Evelyn whenever he was on tour, hardly failed to note the country seats that he either saw from the road or visited. Joseph Heeley's Letters on the Beauties of Hagley, Envil and the Leasowe (1777) are an important and valuable document of landscape history since he described carefully and fully three famous examples of early landscape gardens of which only the first one survives in anything like its original state. The gardens at Stowe in Buckinghamshire, which were probably

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[31] Albert Baugh, A Literary History of England, New York, 1967, p.708.
[32] Ibid.

the most famous of all eighteenth-century landscapes were the subjects of many poems, descriptions and guide books, the best known being the poem written by Gilbert West in 1732 Stowe, The Gardens of the Right Honourable Richard Lord Vincent Cobham and William Gilpin's A Dialogue upon the Gardens of the Right Honourable Lord Vincent Cobham at Stowe (1748). As we will see below, the latter is especially valuable for the insight it provides into the aesthetic and psychological responses of a mid-eighteenth century visitor.

To understand what was novel in these gardens it is appropriate to give an account of some of them, beginning with Pope's Villa at Twickenham.

Alexander Pope (1688-1744) the great Augustan poet and satirist, leased a house and the surrounding land of Twickenham on the Thames between Richmond and Hampton Court, at the end of 1718. He began to remodel the house into a compact Palladian villa with portico (Fig. 4). Some of the renovations were designed by James Gibbs, an architect influenced by both Palladian and Italian baroque precedents, while Lord Burlington advised on the construction of the portico.[33]From the house a slope led down to the river bank. On the other side a road separated the house from the garden, so to connect the villa to the garden Pope constructed an arched passageway through the house at the basement story. He transformed this passageway into a grotto decorated with geological specimens given to him by friends (Fig. 5). The grotto betrays an advanced taste for natural settings and as the poet maintains: " resembles Nature in all her

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[33] Morris R. Brownell, Alexander Pope and the Arts of Georgian England, Oxford, 1978, p. 282; see also Maynard Mack, op. cit., 1979, p.16.

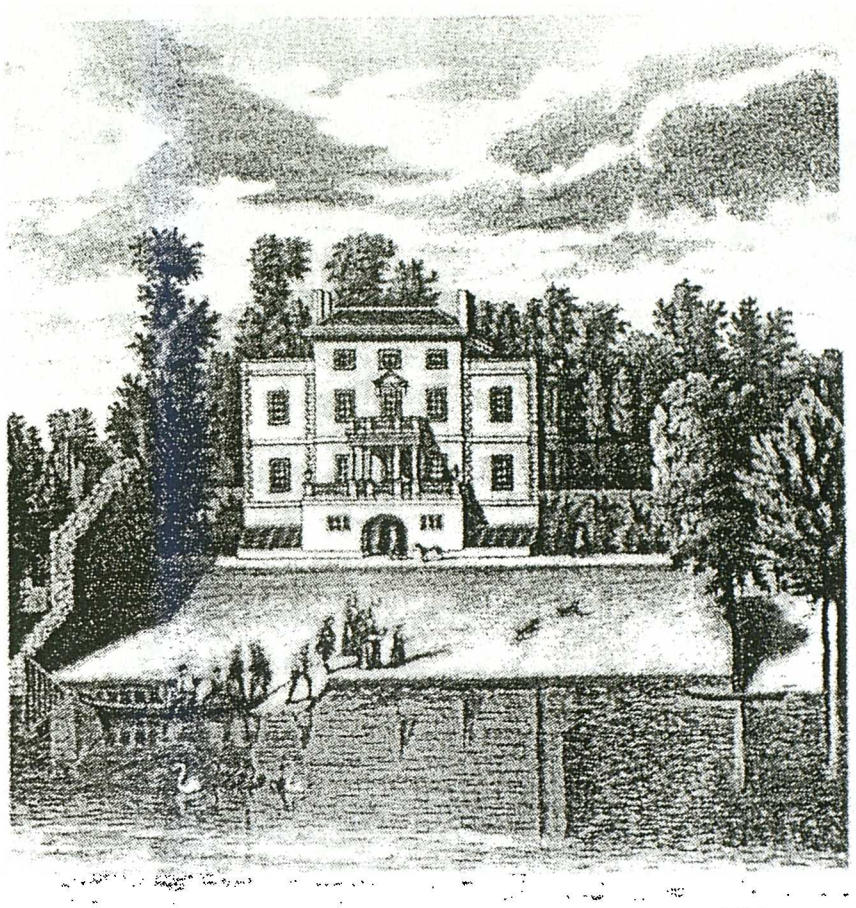

Fig. 4 Pope's Villa at Twickenham. Engraving by P.A. Rysbrack, 1735.

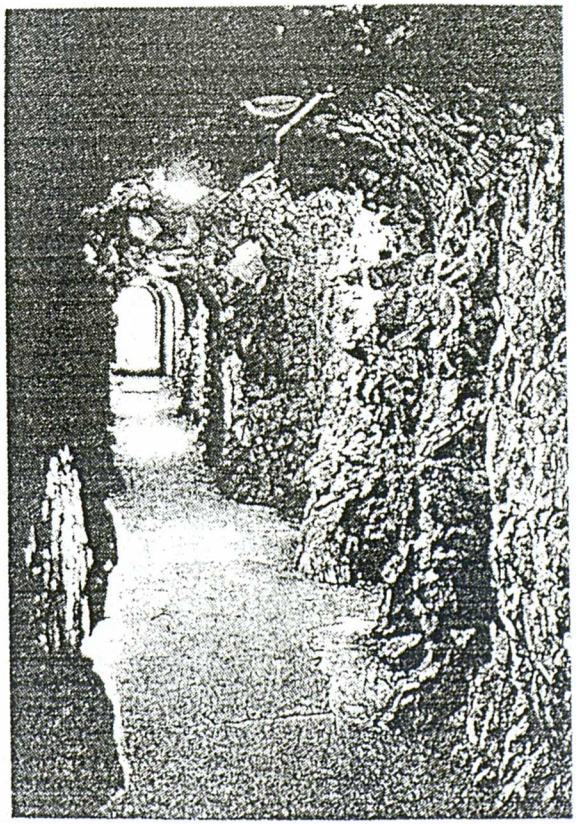

Fig. 5 Two views of the grotto at Twickenham. (photo the Architectural Review).

workings "[34]. As reported by Pope's gardener, John Serle (who wrote an account of the place), each chamber had different geological ingredients. In the first room Serle lists: "...Several fine Fossils and Snake-stones, with petrified Wood and Moss in various shapes, from the petrifying Spring at Nasborough in Yorkshire " alongside " Fine Verd Antique from Egypt ", in the third room are pieces from Kent, Bath, Plymouth, Cornwall; and in the fourth:

> Fine sparry Marble from Lord Edgcumb's Quarry, with different sorts of Moss. Several fine Pieces of the Eruptions from Mount Vesuvius, and a fine piece of Marble from the Grotto of Egeria near Rome, from the Reverend Mr. Spence; with several fine Petrifications and Plymouth Marble, from Mr. Cooper; Gold Clift from Mr Cambridge in Gloucester; and several fine Brain-Stones from Mr. Miller of Chelsea.[35]

The garden itself was laid out as a succession of open lawns, bordered by dense planting of trees and shrubbery. These thickets were intersected by paths, both straight and serpentine, which terminated in rond-points, small clearings from which paths radiated as it appears from the plan drawn by John Serle in 1745 (Fig. 6). The garden contained a "shell temple", an open domed structure

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[34] George Sherburn, Correspondence of Alexander Pope, Oxford, 1956, p. 228.
[35] John Serle, A Plan of Mr. Pope's Garden...1745, pp. 5-7.

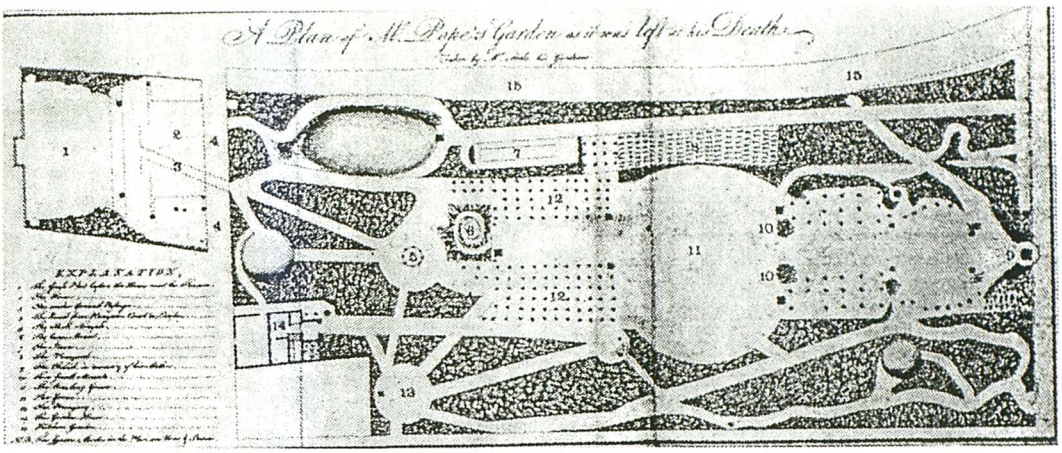

Fig. 6 Plan of Pope's garden. drawn by his gardener John Serle, 1745.

Explanation:
1 - The Grass Plat before the House next the Thames.
2 -The House
3 - The underground Passage
4 - The Road from Hampton Court to London.
5 - The Shell Temple
6 - The large Mount
7 - The Stoves.
8 - The Vineyard
9 - The Obelisk in memory of his Mother
10 - Two small Mounts
11 - The Bowling Green
12 - The Grove
13 - The Orangery
14 - The Garden House
15 - Kitchen Garden

N.B. The Square Marks in the Plan are Urns and Statues.

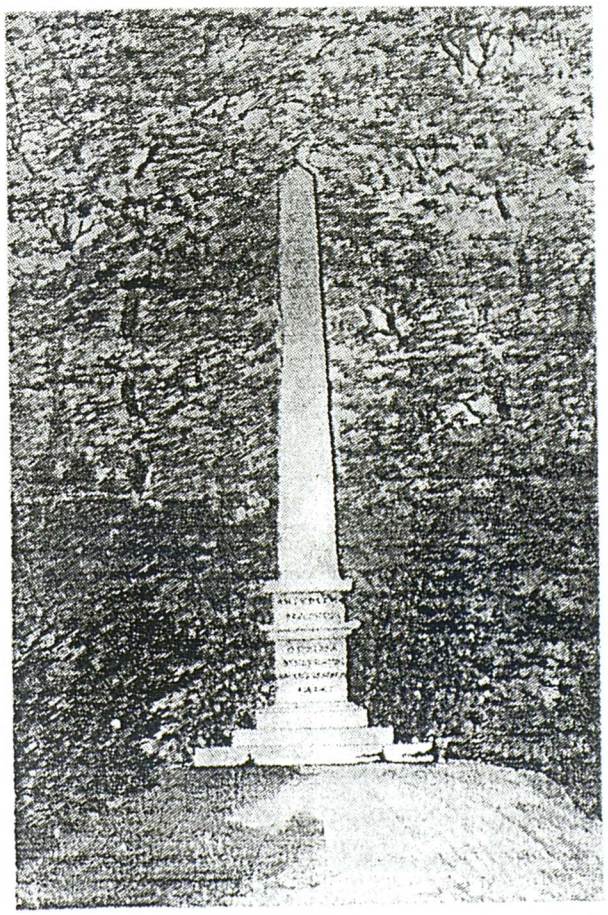

Fig. 7 Twickenham, Pope's garden, obelisk, watercolour by S. Lewis, 1785.

supported on eight slender piers and decorated with shells[36]. Near the temple was a large mount:

> covered with Bushes and trees of a wilder Growth, and more Confused Order rising as it were out of Clefts of Rocks and Heaps of Rugged and mossy Stones, among which a narrow intricate Path leads in an irregular Spiral to the Top where is placed a Forest Seat or Chair...[37]

The central area of the garden contained an open lawn, the bowling green. Two more mounts flanked the path from the lawn to the edge of the property. Here on a grassy rise surrounded by cypress trees, was an obelisk erected by Pope to the memory of his beloved mother (Fig. 7). Serle's plan also displays the regularly spaced, or quincunx, plantings of single trees bordering the open spaces (indicated by small dots); and finally the garden contained a small vineyard, a greenhouse, and a kitchen garden, all planted for use as well as ornament. The existence of a kitchen garden confirms Pope's agricultural interests and his views about the use of a country estate not only for personal delights but as a means to serve the community by improving the soil or producing wood. In this way the money invested to build the house and lay out the garden was "sanctified" by the good use made of it.[38]

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[36] Morris R. Brownell, op. cit, p. 56.
[37] An Epistology Description of the late Pope's House and Gardens at Twickenham, in The Newcastle General Magazine, or monthly Intelligencer, January 1748, pp. 25-28 reprinted in Mack Maynard, op. cit., 1969, pp. 237-43.
[38] Maynard Mack, Essential Articles for the study of Alexander Pope, London, 1964, pp.401-435

Pope's garden was in no sense contrived as a purely visual aesthetic experience, there were areas emblematically consacrated to various aspects of the moral life. Filial piety was represented by the obelisk in memorial to his mother, while the interchange between public and private life was conveyed through the views out to the river from the grotto. As Pope explained to Edward Blount, the grotto had been contrived to function as a *camera obscura* " on the Walls of which all the objects of the River, Hills, Woods, and Boats, are forming a moving Picture in their visible Radiations"[39]. Associations of a similar kind were literally written into the landscape by means of the numerous statues, urns and inscriptions indicated on Serle's plan. The metaphorical possibilities of the garden statuary are suggested by the riverside ornament Pope was planning at the end of his life, an arrangement of sculpture which was to include statues of Homer, Virgil, Marcus Aurelius, and Cicero.[40]

Pope created his garden as a place to live out his Horatian ideal of rural retirement away from urban and political concerns, where he could live simply surrounded by good friends, many of whom (as we shall see later) belonged to the faction which set itself in opposition to Walpole. Maynard Mack has discussed this significance of Pope's garden as *locus amoenus*, a setting for an "..imagined ideal community of patriarchal virtues and heroic friends.."[41] No traces of Pope's garden remain today, save for the grotto, stripped of most of its treasures. At about the same time as Pope's garden, Lord Burlington's villa and gardens at

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[39] G. Sherburn, op. cit., p. 296.
[40] Maynard Mack, op. cit., 1969, pp. 37-40, 76.
[41] Ibid., pp. 8-9.

Chiswick, (between Twickenham and London) were begun. While their formal configuration is very different, Burlington's house and gardens illustrate many of the same principles as Pope's .

Richard Boyle, third Earl of Burlington (1695-1793) a close friend of Pope and 4th Earl of Cork, inherited these titles, along with estates in London, Chiswick, Yorkshire and Ireland when he was ten years old. The property at Chiswick included a large Jacobean mansion surrounded by formal gardens. In 1716 after returning from his Italian Tour (where he met for the first time in 1714-15 his future protegé William Kent), charged with images of the Italian Renaissance mainly of Palladian buildings , Lord Burlington set about reshaping the grounds at Chiswick (Fig. 8) helped by James Gibbs who was active in those years at Burlington House Piccadilly[42].Gibbs was employed to design the Domed Building, a large temple which consisted of an advanced tetrastyle portico and two rusticated bays on each side marked by Corinthian pilasters at the angles. At about the same time in 1717 Burlington, under Campbell's tutelage, designed another building terminating another avenue at diagonal to Gibb's central one[43]. The building was called Bagno o Cassina and was a two-storied pavilion crowned with a balustrade and a small octogonal dome.[44] A trio of avenues was completed in the early 1720s with the Rustic Arch designed by Burlington (Fig. 9). About 1723-4 major garden works began. These comprised the construction of several

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[42] James Lees-Milne, Earls of Creation, London, 1962, p. 117.
[43] Colen Campbell, is considered the initiator of the Neo-Palladian movement with his work Vitruvius Britannicus written in 1715. In these early years he probably acted as mentor and teacher to Burlington.
[44] Cinzia Maria Sicca, op. cit, 1982, pp. 38-41.

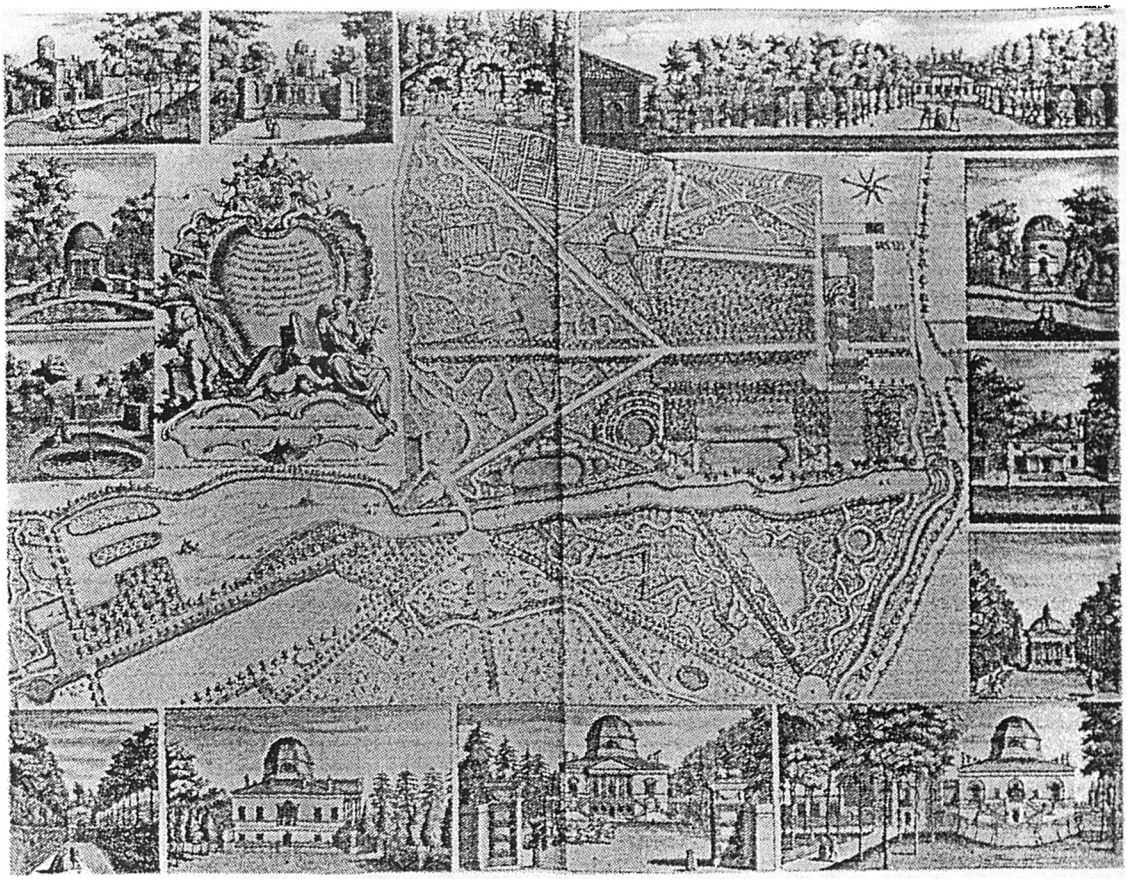

Fig. 8 J. Rocque, Plan of the Gardens at Chiswick. 1723

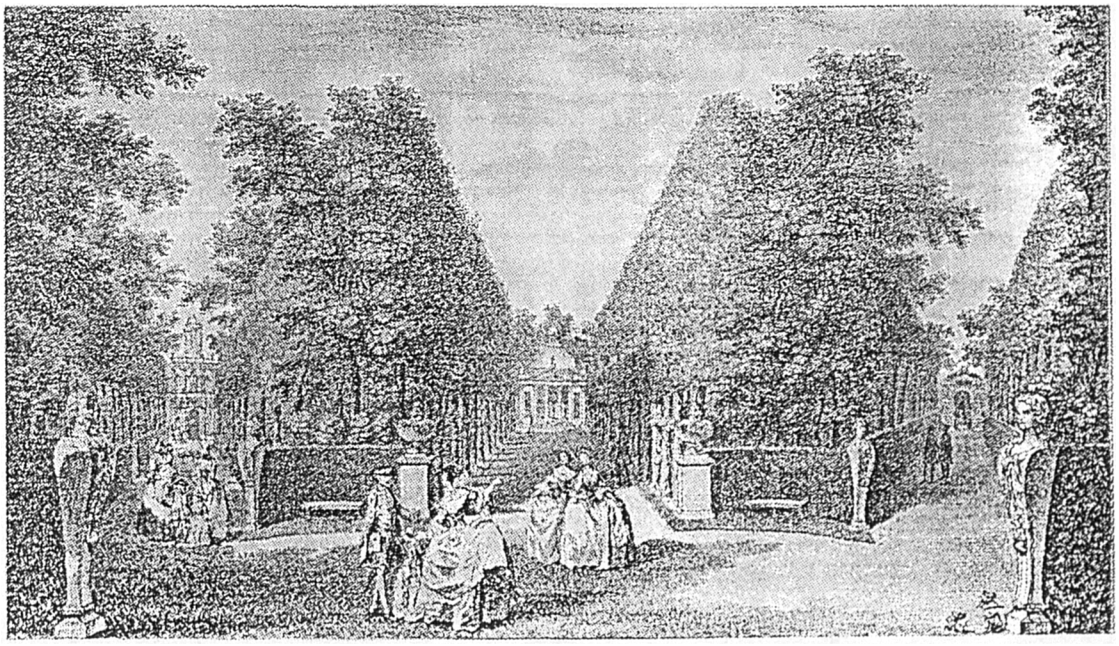

Fig. 9 J. Donnowell. Chiswick: A view of the three walks terminated by the Casina, the pavilion, and the Rustic House in the Garden of the Earl of Burlington at Chiswick. 1753. English Heritage

domed temples, all based on Palladian or ancient Roman models: the Deer House, the Temple by the Water with its basin and the Domed Ionic Temple. The latter was set over a sunken grass amphitheatre centred by an obelisk set in a circular pool of Water on the opposite side of the house at the end of the Grand Allée[45] (Fig. 10). Having first designed his garden, in 1725 Burlington began to build Chiswick Villa next to the old house. In one sense the villa was conceived as nothing more than another more elaborate garden building, for it contained only a few state rooms and was not meant for a dwelling (Fig. 11). Burlington based his design on Palladio's Villa Rotonda and Scamozzi's Villa Rocca Pisani[46] connecting it to the old house with the Link Building, which has a Palladian façade with a central pediment.

By 1720 William Kent was Burlington's partner in design. As above mentioned, Burlington met Kent during his first Grand Tour in Italy but only on his second visit to Italy in 1719 did he decide to bring him back to England to reform British painting. He soon discovered, however, that he had found a highly original and versatile designer, not only in architecture but also in interiors, furnishing and landscape design. At Chiswick, Kent designed the exedra (Fig. 12) at the end of the lawn facing the villa , which was formed of trimmed hedges with niches for three statues of Caesar, Pompey and Cicero. Interspersed among the topiary there were herms who represented the effigies of three classical characters:

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[45] James Lees-Milne, op. cit., pp.147-148.
[46] Ibid., pp. 150-151.

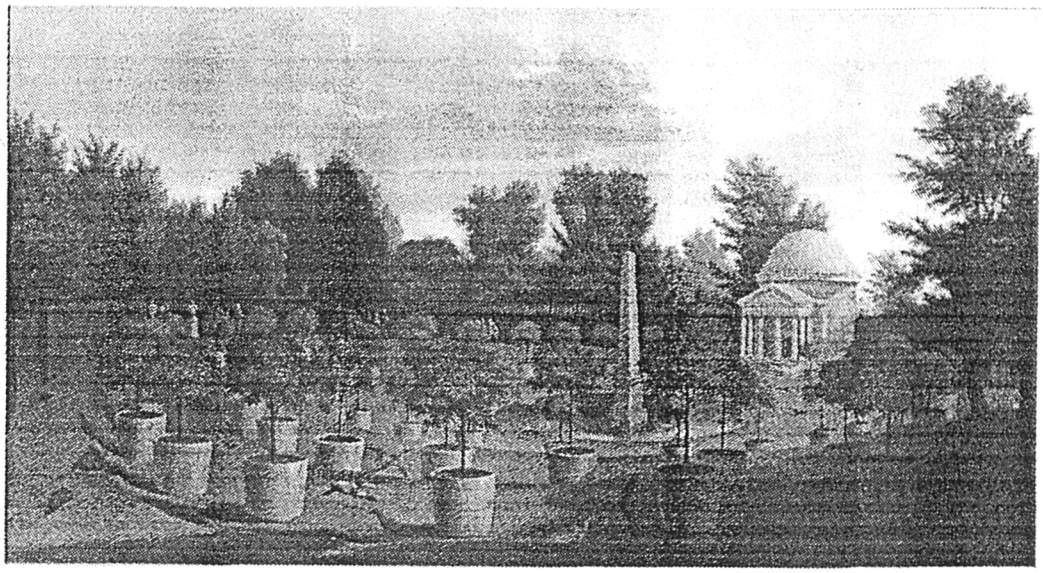

Fig. 10 Chiswick, Ionic Temple and Orangery, painting by P.A. Rysbrack, c. 1729, Devonshire Collection, Chatsworth.

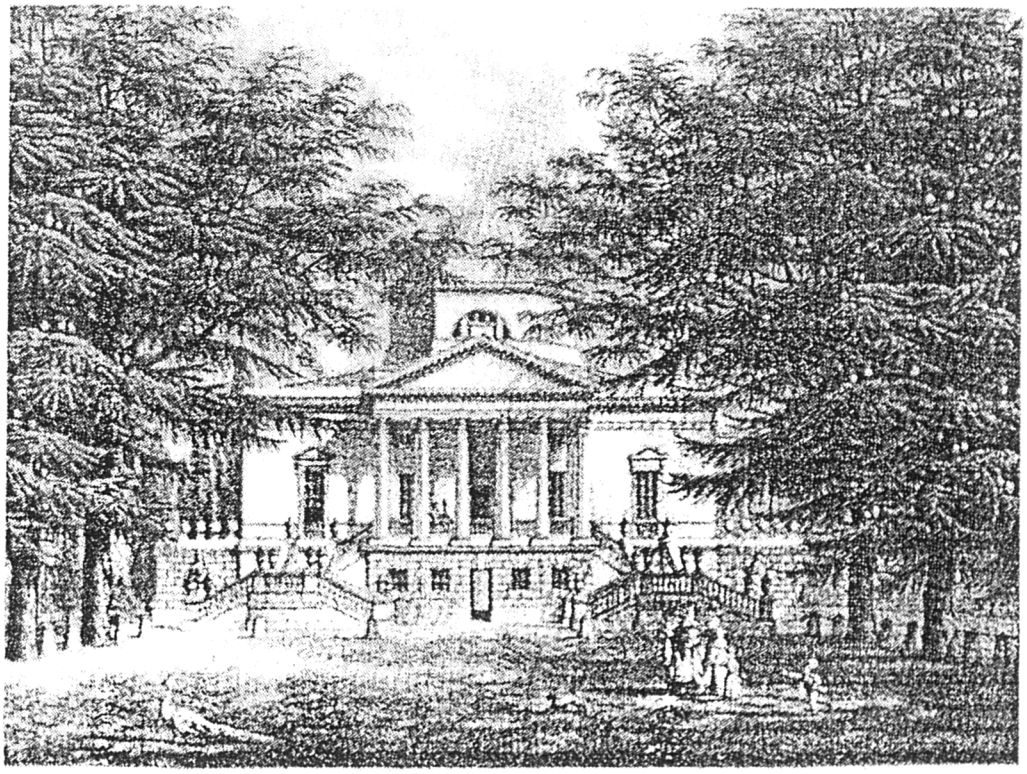

Fig. 11 Chiswick House, Engraving by W. Watts, *Picturesque Views*, 1783.

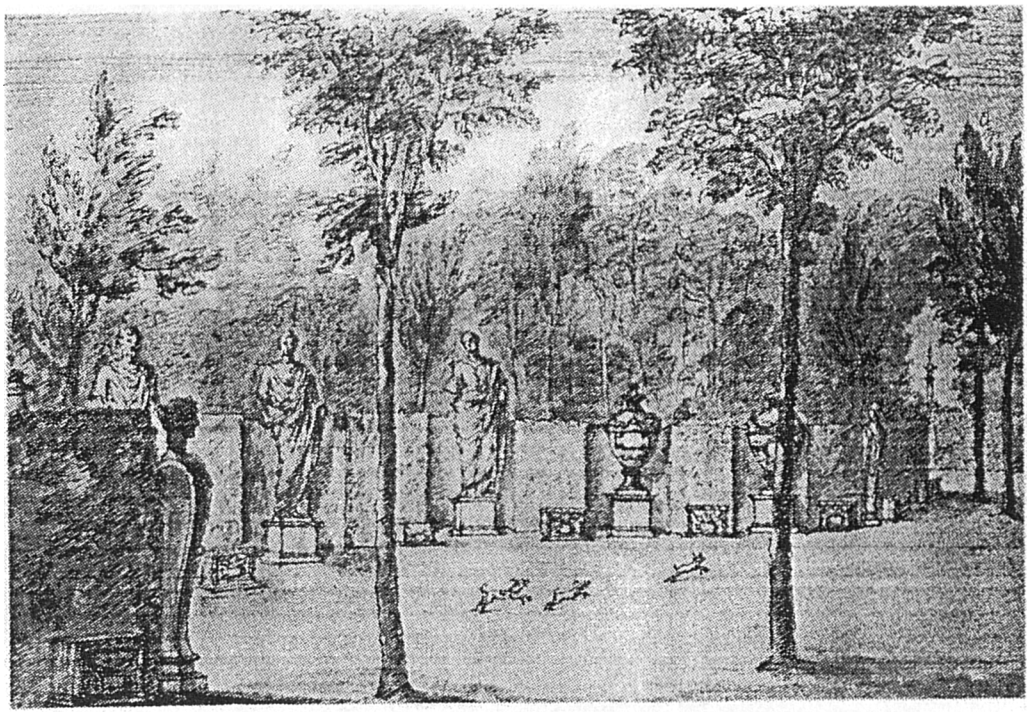

Fig. 12 Chiswick. View of the Exedra. Drawing by William Kent, Devonshire Collection, Chatsworth.

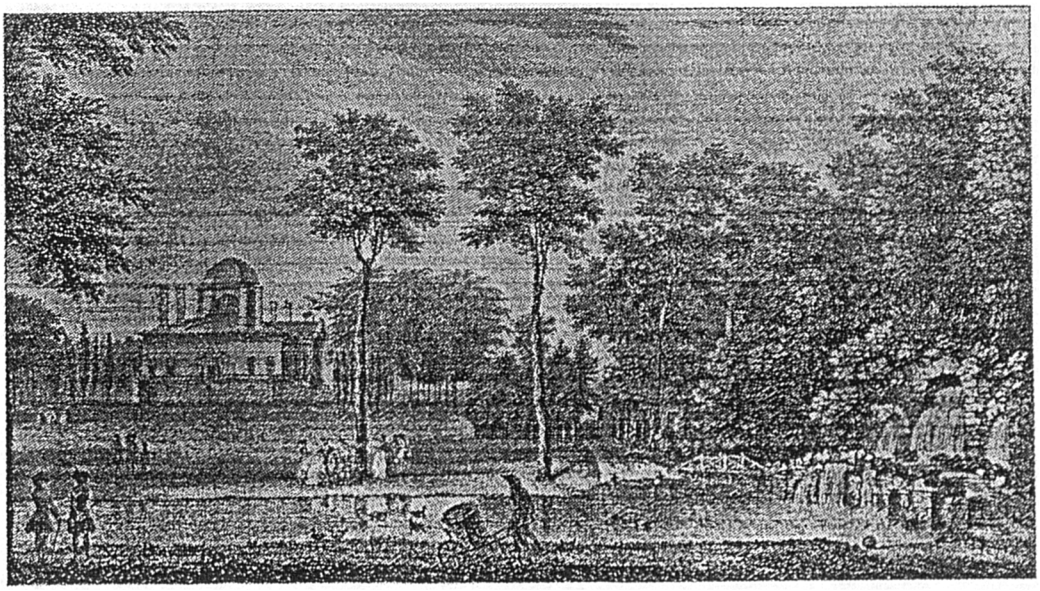

Fig. 13 John Donowell, a view of the Cascade and part of the Serpentine River & of the West front of the house of the Earl of Burlington at Chiswick, 1753. (English Heritage).

Socrates, Licurgus and Lucius Verus.[47] Kent also designed the cascade, made of three arches of natural stonework. Water flowed from the arches into the serpentine river (Fig. 13). He also changed the shape of the river making it more crooked. As we can see from Rocque's plan, this early Georgian garden still contained some formal features. Samuel Richardson, writing in the revised Defoe's Tour of 1742, notices this conflict between the formality of Burlington's part and Kent's more natural style:

> On each side of the Serpentine River is a Grass walk, which follow the Turns of the River; and on the Right-hand of the River is a building, which is the exact Model of the Portico of Covent Garden Church; and on the left is a wilderness, which is laid out in regular Walks, with clipp'd Hedges on each side,...[48]

The innovation that Burlington and Kent strove to introduce was the complexity, contrast and pictorial illusion into the gardens, which was created by the visual and spatial juxtaposition of elements not necessarily irregular in themselves. The relationship of the lawn and exedra to the patte-d'oie, is an example of this type of planning (see Rocque's plan). The pavilions dominate in Chiswick layout in which the villa might be said the largest and most elegant garden building.

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[47] These statues representing famous classical figures, were meant to carry a specific political message which will be discussed at a later stage in the text when I will deal with garden ichonography.

[48] Daniel Defoe, A tour through the whole island of Great Britain, 3 Vols. London, 1742, vol. 3, p. 288.

Because of this profusion of garden structures, the villa included, the garden may also be understood to constitute Burlington's personal manifesto of taste, emphasizing that the Palladian tradition was profoundly significant for contemporary British architecture.

A famous early Georgian garden which was located in Central London and has now disappeared completely is Carlton House. It was designed for Frederick Prince of Wales (1707-51), who was on bad terms with his father and had allied himself politically with the faction opposed to Sir Robert Walpole, the king's favourite minister .The Prince hired Henry Flitcroft, the architect who served as Burlington's draftsman, to reface the house in the Palladian style, while William Kent designed the gardens[49]. The Prince himself who was much interested in Palladian architecture, garden design and other forms of art, probably had a guiding influence on the design of all these improvements.[50] The site included a succession of small open lawns, surrounded by dense planting of trees, and the plan is similar to that of Pope's (Fig.14). According to Horace Walpole, Kent's designs for Carlton House were based on those of Pope's garden at Twickenham[51]. Both were relatively small and confined and made use of various illusionistic features to complicate the visitor's perspective of space. One area of the Prince's garden was planted with a succession of semicircular radiating flower

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[49] J. Dixon Hunt, Wlliam Kent, Landscape garden designer , London, 1987, pp. 46-47.
[50] T. P. Connor, " Colen Campbell as Architect to the Prince of Wales ", Architectural History, vol. 22, 1979, pp. 66-71.
[51] Isabel Chase, Horace Walpole Gardenist, London 1943, pp. 28-29.

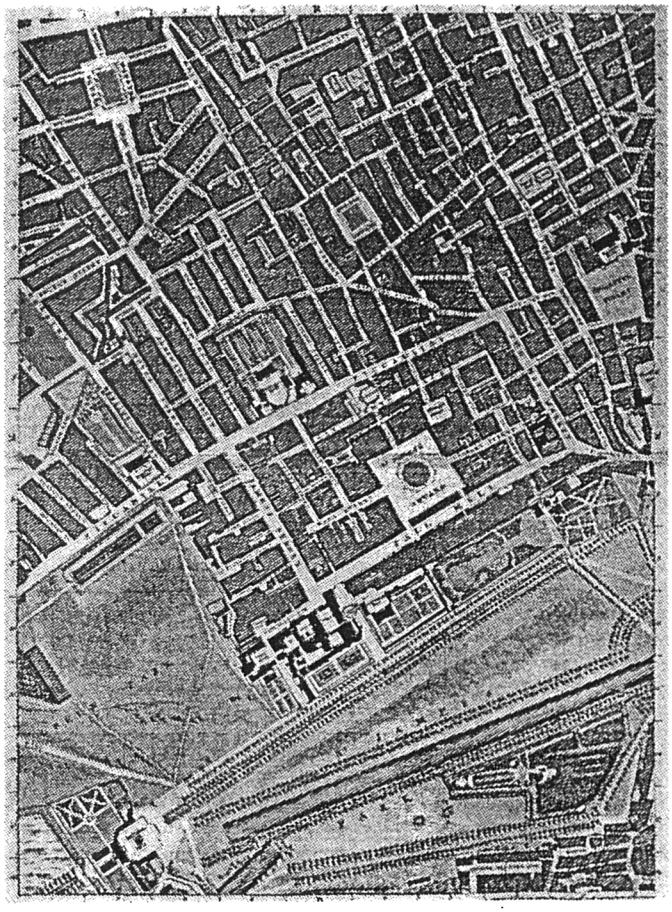

Fig. 14 J. Rocque. Plan of Carlton House Gardens 1746.

beds surrounded by arbours. Half concealed by thickets, this arrangement would have gradually revealed itself as a spacious clearing in the approaching visitor's line of sight.

The Prince's gardens also included an octagonal temple with its Venetian window and four-branched staircase which resembled a scaled down version of Chiswick Villa[52] (Fig. 15). Apparently Burlington himself advised on the construction of this building [53]. In building this temple the Prince declared himself,a man of taste and a patron of the arts, like Burlington and the other powerful landlords who embraced the Palladian style.

The Prince's pavilion displayed two statues with a strong political significance, King Alfred the legendary ninth-century English King, and Edward the Black Prince, son of Edward III. The political opposition to Robert Walpole praised King Alfred as the founder of the English constitution and the champion of English Liberty. The same propaganda represented the Black Prince as a model of bravery, clemency and generosity. Placed in Carlton House gardens these busts proclaimed Frederick a defender of liberty and the constitution as well as a model prince who would strive to treat his subjects fairly. These allusions would have been perfectly clear to the politicians or those who visited the Prince at Carlton house, which soon became together with other estates (Stowe, Dawley Farm) the seat of a kind of opposition court. Even if in these three gardens we can detect a shift towards a less formal design it was indeed in the improvements carried out

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[52] Thomas Whately, Observations on Modern Gardening , London, 1710. It contains an engraving by Wollett (1760) which shows this octagonal temple and two busts that flanked the windows.
[53] The Daily Post, 7 August 1734.

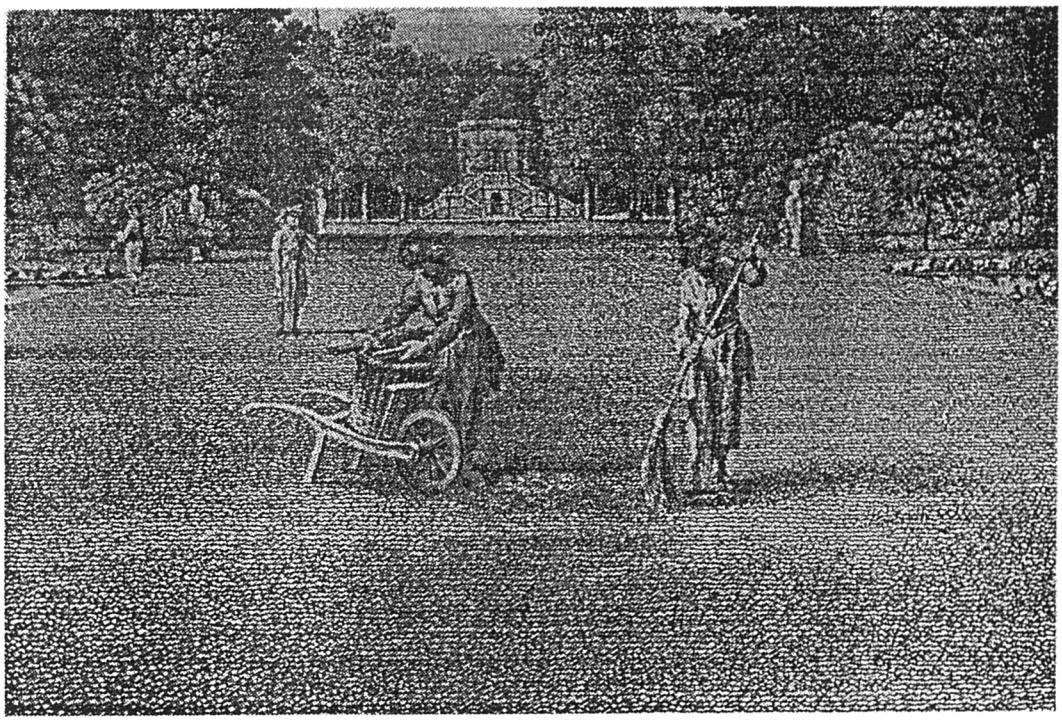

Fig. 15 Carlton House. Brushing and scything. Detail of engraving by Wollett, 1760. In the background the Octagonal Temple.

first by Bridgeman and then, particularly, by Kent at Stowe and Rousham that the "new" style in gardening became fully evolved.

The architecture and sculpture at Rousham (Oxfordshire) have scarcely been altered since created and it remains the best preserved example of the work of William Kent. Drawings by Kent and letters of the steward to the owner General James Dormer, give a picture of the original layout of the garden.[54] Kent was called at Rousham by 1737 and required to alter and extend the gardens which Charles Bridgeman had laid out there in 1720, with long straight intersecting alleys alternating with serpentine walks, terraced theatres and shaped basins[55].The main features of Bridgeman's garden were two large squared ponds in a shallow valley as shown in a plan of c. 1725 attributed to him (Fig. 16).

The largest pond was overlooked by a theatre made on the sloping ground facing south-east. Kent opened up this area - which became known as the Vale of Venus - destroying the basins and re-orienting them towards north-east. He created two stone cascades, one above the other which were decorated with statues of Venus and other deities. As we can see from a map drawn in 1738 (Fig. 17), Kent did not alter the basic layout of the garden, he made it more complex by addition of various buildings and statues at key points, he introduced water works, levelled terraces into slopes and widened the river Cherwell along which Rousham is situated.

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[54] Kenneth Woodbridge, op. cit., 1974, pp. 282-291.
[55] Peter Willis, Charles Bridgeman, London, 1978, pp. 67-68.

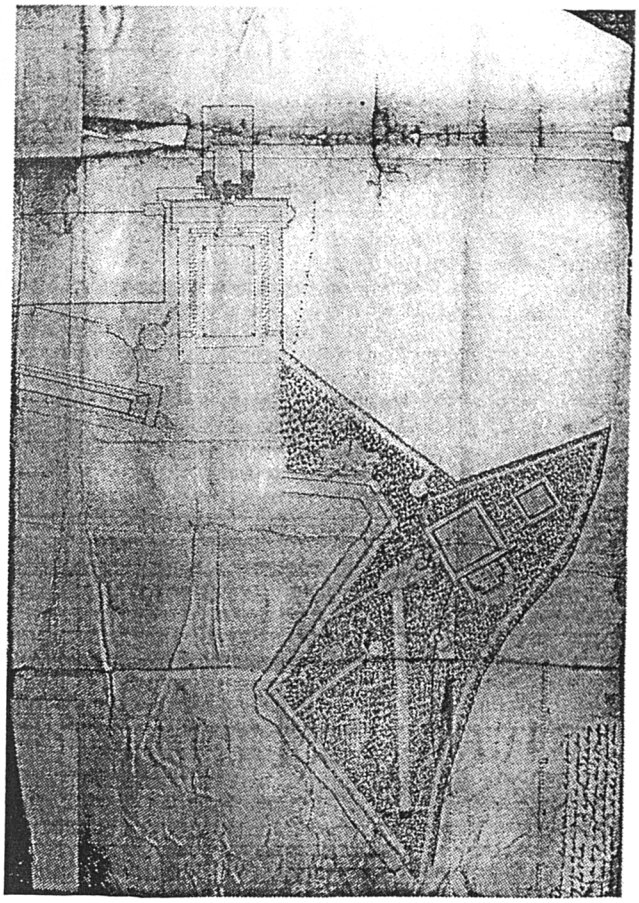

Fig. 16 Rousham plan. Drawing by Bridgeman, 1725.

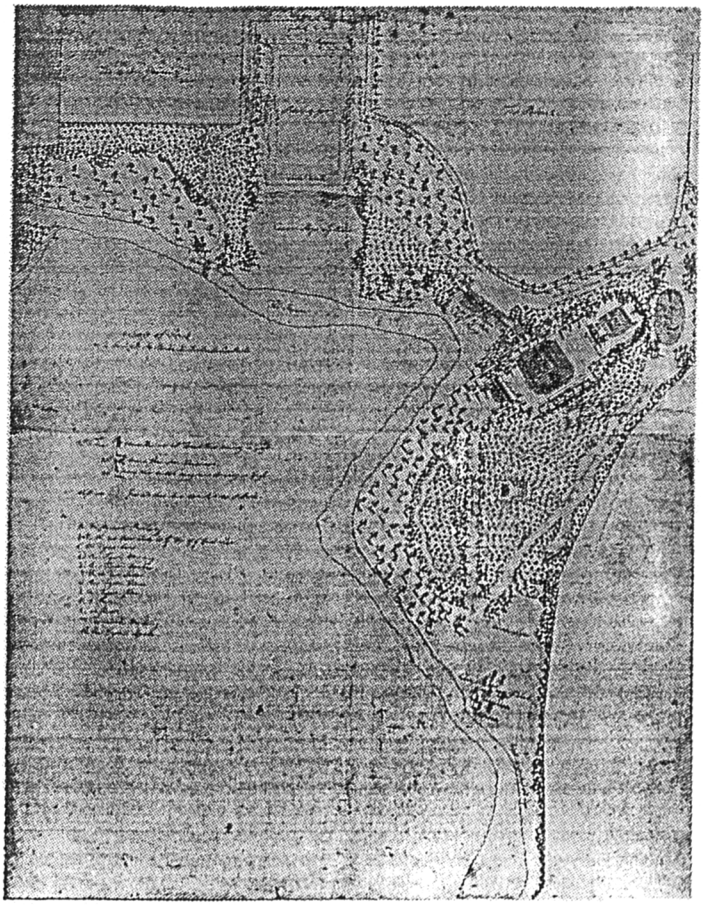

Fig. 17 Plan of Rousham. Sometimes attributed to Kent but likely to be by the steward, William White, ca. 1738. Collection T.. Cottrell-Dormer.

Rousham was designed so that the visitor will follow a specific circuit around the garden. This was planned to permit the visitor to look out over the river and the surrounding landscape as he or she walks and the views over the countryside were opened out to help the garden seem more varied and less confined. The circuit is reported on a letter written in 1750 by the gardener John MacClary.

The garden was approached from the front of the house where a wide green lawn slopes down to the river bank. The visitor was drawn towards the Lion Statue (Scheemakers' version of the antique sculpture of the Lion Attacking the Horse) and found himself looking beyond into the Oxfordshire countryside (Fig. 18). Kent embellished this view outside the gardens by creating a Gothic eyecatcher (Fig. 19), adding Gothic ornaments to a cottage to make it seem like a mill and incorporating into the garden the view of the genuinely medieval Heyford Bridge[56]. MacClary describes this view as follows:

> ...you walk forward to view the Lion nearer, when your eye drops upon a very fine Concave Slope, at the Bottom of which runs the Beautifull River Charvell, and at the top stands two pretty Garden Seats, one on each side, backt with the two Hilloks of Scotch Firrs, here you sit down first in the one, and then in the other, from whence perhaps at this time you have the prettiest view in the whole World, Tho the most extensive part of it is but short, yet

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[56] David Jacques, Georgian Gardens. The Reign of Nature , London, 1983, pp. 35-39.

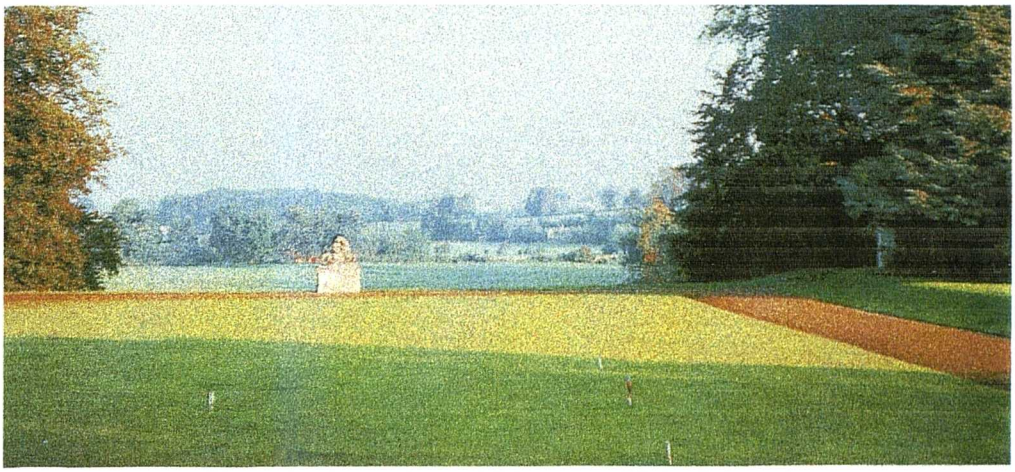

Fig. 18 Rousham. View into the Oxfordshire countryside from the terrace of the house.

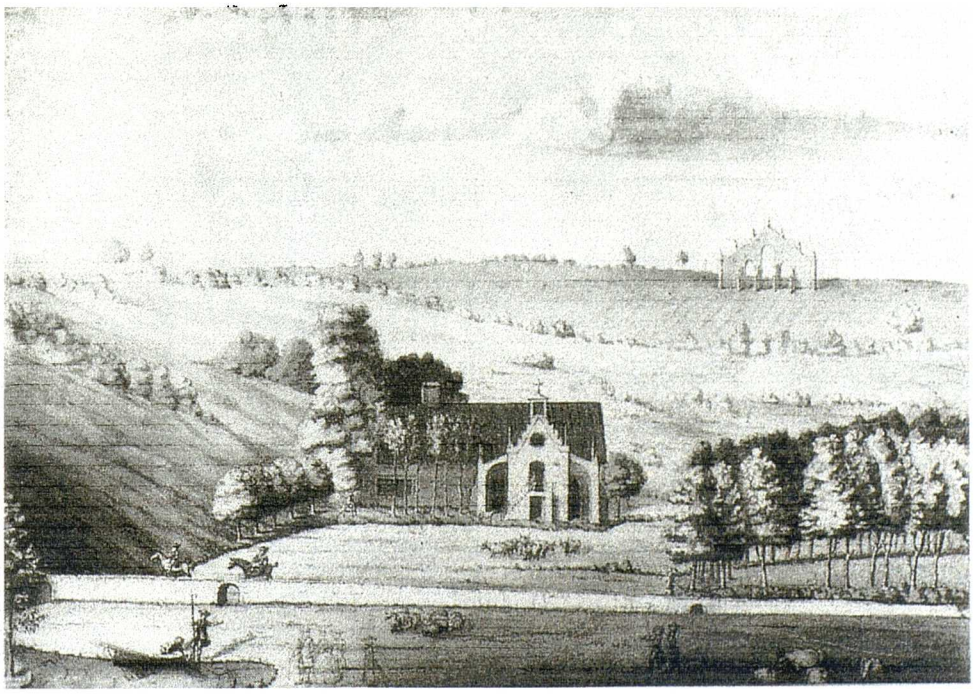

Fig. 19 Rousham. Eyecatcher of Aston Field and Temple of the Mill. William Kent's drawing.

> you see from hence five pretty Country Villages, and the Grant Triumphant Arch in Aston Field, together with the naturial turnings of the Hills, to let that charming River downe to butify our Gardens, and what stops our Long view is a very pretty Corn Mill , Built in the Gothick manner but nothing sure can please the Eye like our Short View, their is a fine Meadow, cut off from the garden only by the River Charvell whereon is all sorts of Cattle feeding, which looks the same as if they were feeding in the Garden. And through the middle of the meadow runs a great High Road, which goes from several Cities to several Cities, their your see Carriers Wagons, Gentlemen's Equipages, Women riding, Men walking, and sometimes twenty Droves of Cattle goes by in a Day, then you see Hayford Bridge (which carries the Great Road over the River Charvill) which is a fine Stone Bridge Six Hundred feet Long, and thirty Broad, with a parripet Wall on each side, finally coped, and it is supported by ten Spaceous Arches, here you see the water comes gliding through the Arches, and all the pretty naturial turnings and windings of the River.....[57]

The path then led the visitor down through serpentine woodland walks to the Cold Bath which consists of an octagonal pool and a small arched cavern-like structure

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[57] Mavis Batey, op. cit., 1983, p. 128.

surrounded by tall trees and along by a serpentine rill the visitor reached a temple designed by Kent and called Townsend Building (Fig. 20). This served as a seat to direct attention to the view outwards, across the river, as reported by MacClary:

> when your at the end of the River, you turn to the Left hand, through a fine Grove of Evergreens, to a pavilion, built in the Tuscan order, where you goe in & sett down and hear a very fine Echo, from hence you have a view of the Arch in Aston Field, and the Gothick Corn Mill, and a very near view of Heyford Bridge, and the fine Clear Stream comeing Gliding through the Arches...[58]

The pyramid Building (built in 1738/39) at the other side of the river boundary served the same purpose:

> from here you goe trough a Gra' Serpentine Walk, which brings you to a Egyptian pyramide, here you goe in and set down, and have a pretty view of the Meddow, the Road, and the Bridge, and two parrish Churches, together with the pretty natural turnings and windings of the River, and the delightfull naturial Cascade that falls down under the Wooden Bridge...[59]

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[58] Ibid., p. 129.
[59] Ibid., p. 130.

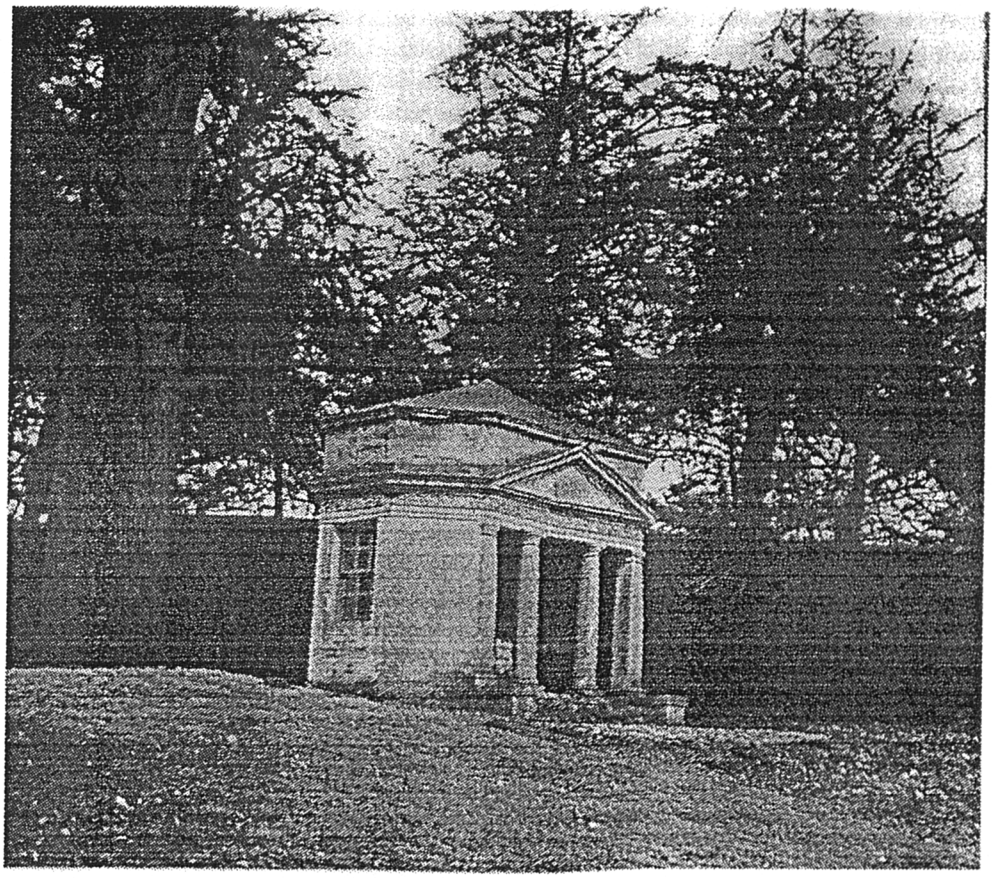

Fig. 20 Rousham. Townsend's building.

One of the main features at Rousham is the arcade of seven arches known as Praeneste (Fig. 21). The design appears to derive from the Temple of Fortune in the Roman town of Praeneste (the modern Palestrina) which was illustrated in Palladio's Fabbriche Antiche published by Burlington in 1730[60]. According to MacClary, the niches in the Arcade held busts of "young Cleopatra, Shakspeer, a Bacchanal, Alexander, the Roman Sistenor (?) and Niaba "[61] The Praeneste is supposed to be glimpsed down the Elm Walk once the visitor has circled the garden. Above the Praeneste Terrace a copy of the famous Dying Gladiator (Fig. 22) was placed (Kent originally designed the pedestal in the form of a sarcophagus which would have given a funerary association in accordance to classical tradition and an appropriate memorial to the General who, by 1741 was mortally ill). Apart from this site, the main places for sculpture in the garden were: the theatre below the Praeneste where MacClary mentions the presence of Mercury, Bacchus and Ceres; the Townsend's Building which held heads of Apollo, Socrates and (in bas-relief) a bacchanal, Demostenes, Jupiter; the pyramid Building with busts of Marcus Aurelius, Socrates and (in bas-relief) heads of Caesar and Calpurnia. He also refers to Flora and Plenty on either side of the Palladian Door.[62]

However, if the Praeneste was the centre of the garden, the Vale of Venus was the heart (Fig. 23). The Vale, presided over by statues of Pan and Venus, was intended to be seen by Kent as a climax to the walk and the pond was hidden

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[60] J. D. Hunt, op.cit., 1987, p. 85.
[61] Mavis Batey, op. cit., p. 130.
[62] Ibid.

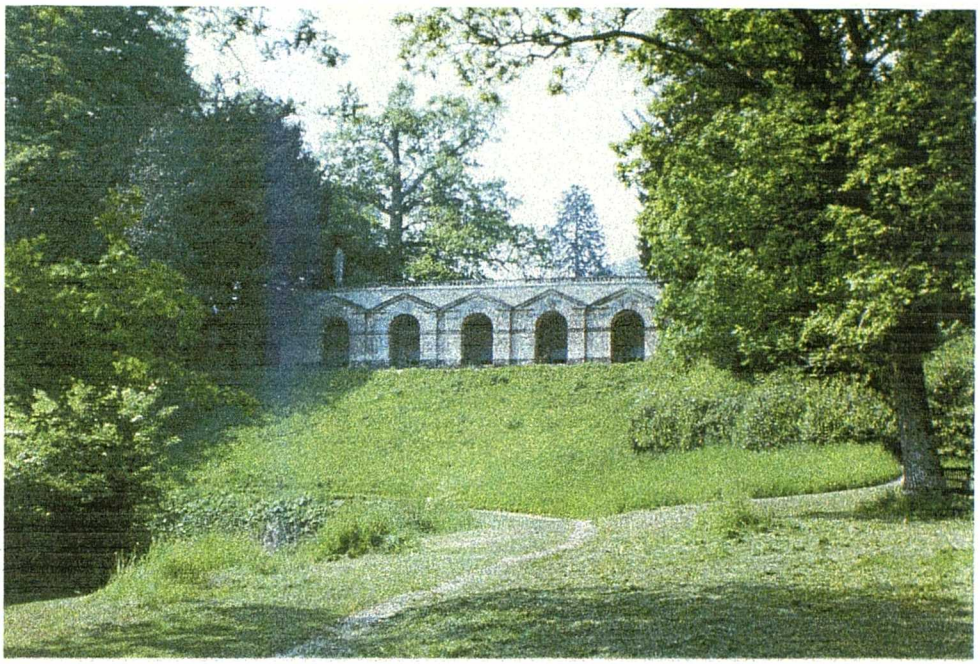

Fig. 21 Rousham. Praeneste Terrace.

Fig. 22 Rousham. The Dying Gladiator, Praeneste Terrace.

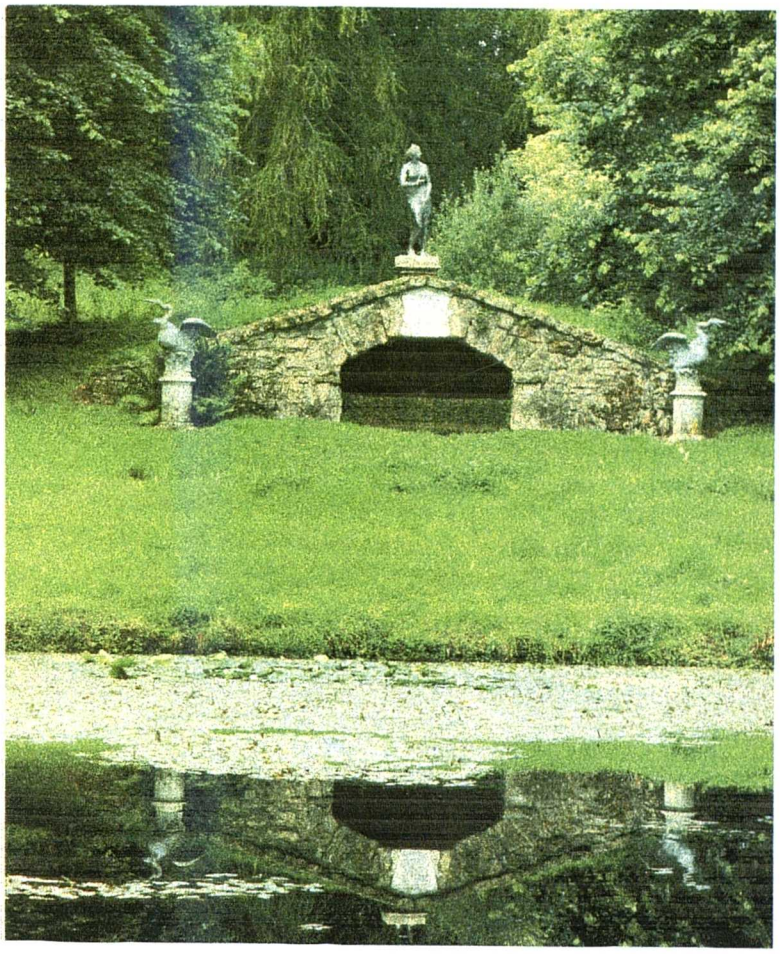

Fig. 23 Rousham. Venus Vale.

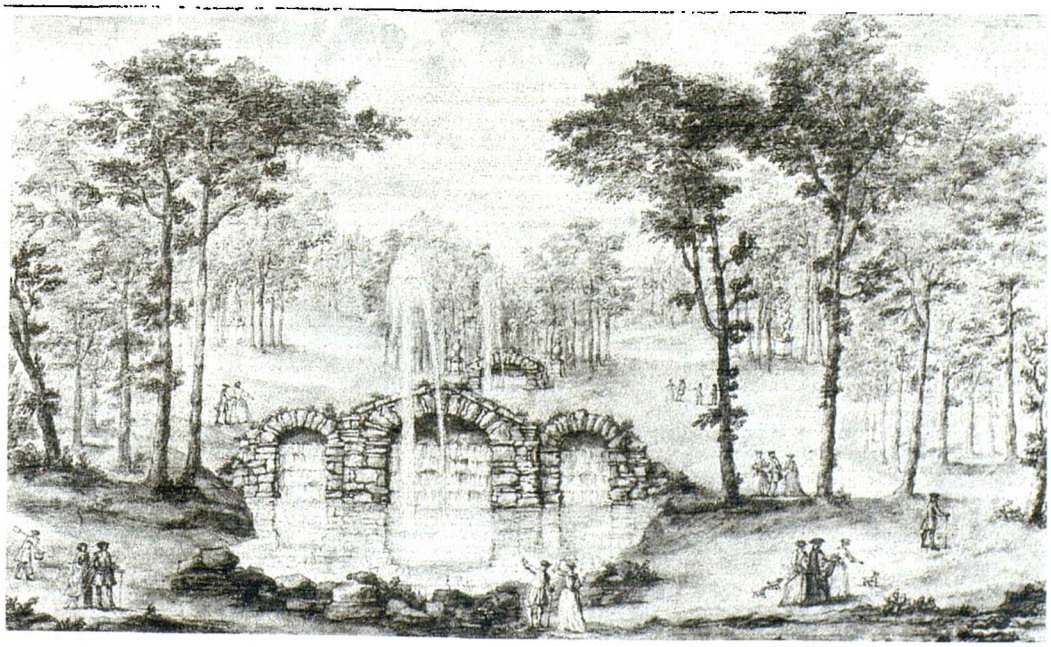

Fig. 24 Rousham. William Kent's drawing of the cascade in Venus Vale, private collection. This was the climax in the garden circuit.

giving a trompe l'oeil effect of cascades, running down the hill (Fig. 24). This part of the garden has often been associated with the pastoral Arcadia. Arcadia - as it was described in Virgil's Eclogues - was a woodland area inhabited by shepherds who sang and played their pipes all day, while their flocks grazed. Mythologically Arcadia was the preserve of Pan (the god of the Arcadian shepherds) and the nymphs.

The reference (through the decorative overlay of statues and Temples dedicated to Pan, Flora, Ceres, Venus) to this kind of Arcadian landscape where leisure and otium (intended as intellectual speculation) prevailed, is a typical feature of the Georgian gardens and is connected with the eighteenth century idea of rural retirement. As is well known, the classical concept of rural retirement was revived in eighteenth-century England and considered the best basis for a virtuous and happy life far from the corrupted life in town.[63] The innocence and happiness of country life was often celebrated by poets of the time:

> Here too dwells simple truth, plain innocence,
> Unsullied beauty, sound unbroken youth
> Patient of labour-with a little pleased,
> Health ever-blooming, unambitious toil,
> Calm contemplation, and poetic ease.[64]

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[63] Marie Sofie Røsting, The Happy Man, Oslo, 1958, pp. 61-105; David H. Solkin, Richard Wilson, London, 1982, pp. 22-37; Maynard Mack, op.cit.,1964, pp. 401-434.
[64] James Thomson, The Seasons, London, 1730," Autumn", l. 1275

As it was typical of these gardens, at Rousham visitors were offered a chance to contemplate various themes while progressing through the garden. The statuary near the house, for instance, with Venus (love), Apollo (music, poetry), Bacchus (conviviality), related to the social virtues and civilised activities which took place therein. The view to the country from Scheemakers' sculpture reminded the patron of the obligation to practise husbandry, with the lion and horse pointing to the dangers of reversion to a savage state if these obligations were not met, a message reinforced by the statue of the gladiator. Various areas of the garden were then dedicated thematically to love (Venus Vale) or contemplating antique exemplars (Townsend's Building, The Pyramid) or husbandry (the theatre) or contemplating the busy scenes of nature, as from the Praeneste, where one could prospect both fields and people moving along the road. As they toured the garden, visitors were supposed to experience different emotions and state of minds; for instance from the delights of the Venus Vale where love and pleasure prevailed, they would then ponder the lessons of antiquity inside Townsend's Building and supposedly think on the transience of wordly pleasures. Moreover the inner garden, as reported in MacClary's letter, was screened by evergreen walks enlivened with flowery underplantings, delightfully described as:

> deferant sorts of Flowers, peeping through the deferant sorts of Evergreens, here you think the Laurel produces a Rose, the Holly a Syringa, the Yew a Lilac, and the sweet Honeysuckle is peeping out from under every Leafe, in short they are so mixt together, that

youd think every Leafe of the Evergreens, produced one flower or another.[65]

This variety of flowering shrubs - from the honeysuckle to the rose - unfortunately no longer exists, but if we pause a moment to contemplate the myriad of colours and "fugue" of scents it is here that the garden came into its own, not only in the spiritual world but also in the tangible dimension, the sensuous feeling of the foliage, the smells mixing in the atmosphere and the beautiful sight offered by the range of colours.

The other garden where Kent worked, at Stowe in Buckinghamshire, represents a microcosm of the whole history of English gardens in the eighteenth century. During its main period of expansion (1715-1749), Stowe became known as one of the greatest of all early Georgian landscape gardens. Richard Temple (1675-1749), later the first Viscount Cobham inherited Stowe in 1697 but he first began developing its grounds in 1711 when he was content with enlarging and reshaping them without the aid of major architectural ornaments. In 1718 however he called Sir John Vanbrugh, to make alterations to the house and to design buildings for the gardens. Vanbrugh designed the Rotunda which was finished in 1721 and therefore considered as one of the earliest classical buildings in the country (Fig. 25), together with the two Doric Lake Pavilions, based mainly on Vitruvian models[66] (Fig. 26). Other buildings attributed to Vanbrugh were a pyramid (now lost, Fig. 27) a Doric Arch, and a Brick Temple

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[65] Mavis Batey, op. cit., p 129.
[66] Michael Bevington, op. cit., pp. 142-144.

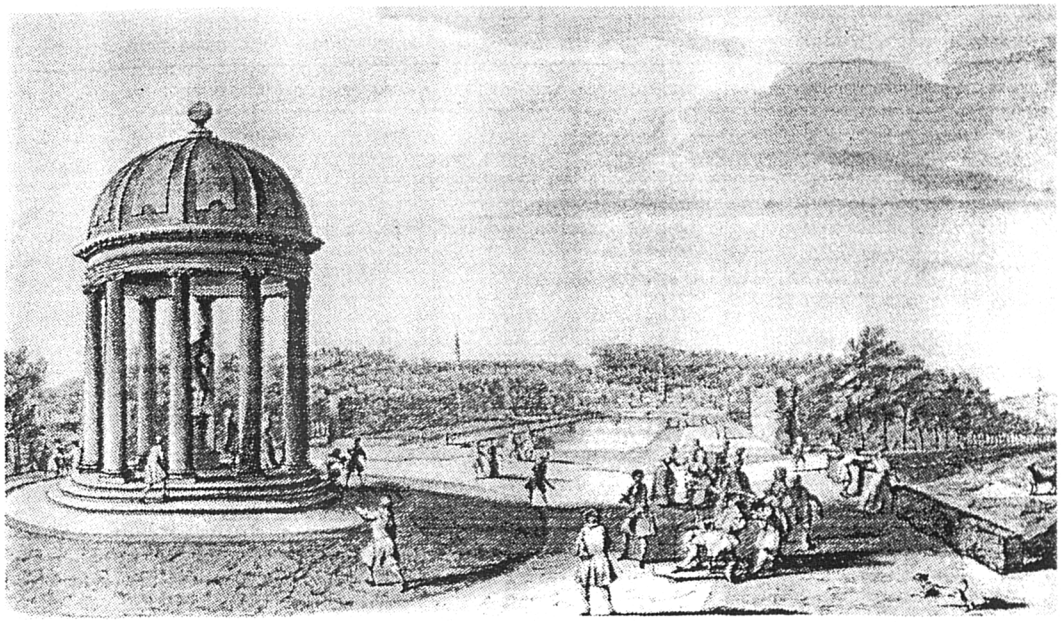

Fig. 25 Stowe. Rigaud, View of the Queen's Theatre from the Rotunda. Ink and Wash 1733-34. MMA Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1942. Left to right: Nelson's Seat/Roger's Walk/Rotunda/Stowe House/King George's Column/Queen's Theatre/Queen Caroline's Monument/Gurnet's Walk/Home Park and Octagon Lake.

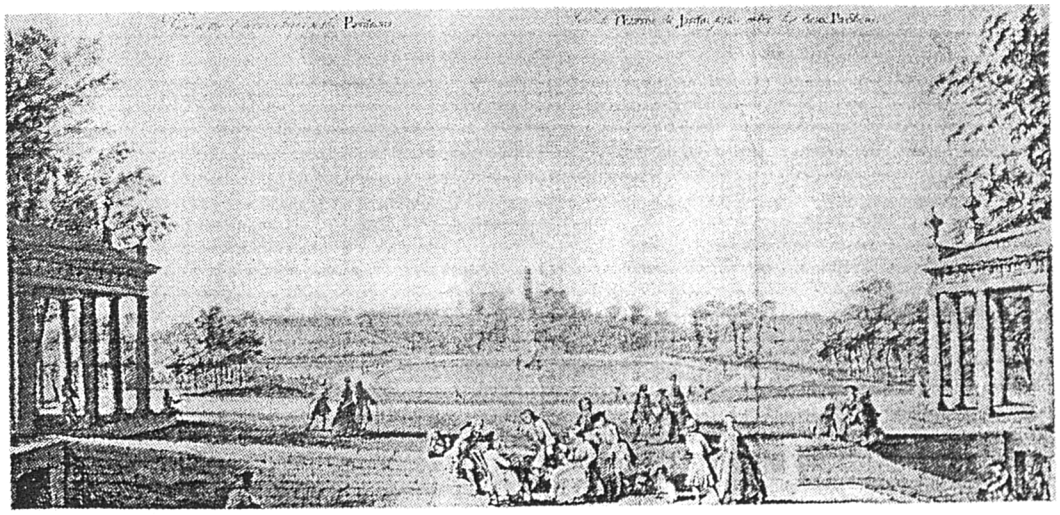

Fig. 26 Stowe. Rigaud, View at the Entrance between the Pavillions. Ink and Wash 1733-34. MMA, Harris BrisbaneDick Fund, 1942. Left to Right: Gibb's Building/Pyramid/Home park/Rotunda/ Coucher's Obelisk/Brick Temple/Temple of Sleep/King George's Column/Stowe House/Abele Walk/ Octagon Lake/Site of Elysian Fields and Hawkwell Hill and Field.

(later renamed Temple of Bacchus). According to Bridgeman's plan of Stowe (1720) (Fig. 28) these buildings were situated westward to the central axis of the garden planted with trees which terminated in an octagonal pond. Charles Bridgeman was employed at about 1720-1724 to redesign and extend the garden. Around 1726 another area , Home Park, was incorporated into the gardens west of Vanbrugh's Rotunda. Vanbrugh died in the same year and Cobham called James Gibbs to replace him[67]. Gibbs was responsible for the pavilions (or lodges) at the new western entrance of the park, a pair of rusticated cubes with tall pedimented arches known as the Boycott Pavilions. The pavilions are now domed but originally they carried pyramidal roofs[68] (Fig. 29). Gibbs also designed a temple on the far side of the home park, facing the Rotunda. After the Home Park was incorporated, Cobham decided to develop the eastern area of the garden. At about the same time (ca.1733) William Kent was hired to layout the eastern area of the garden which became known as the Elysian Fields (Fig. 30). He had, however, been previously employed to advise on alterations to the house that Cobham was about transforming into an up to date Palladian mansion (Fig. 31). The date for the beginning of the new phase in the garden coincides with Cobham's final break with Walpole in 1733 when he withdrew to Stowe in Opposition to the court and immersed himself in gardening assisted by William Kent. The rift was over Walpole's introduction of Excise Duty in 1733 in which it was proposed to impose tax on every article of consumption giving the Customs and Excise men

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[67] Laurence Whistler, "The Authorship of the Stowe Temples", Country Life, September 29, 1950, pp. 1001-1006.
[68] Ibid.

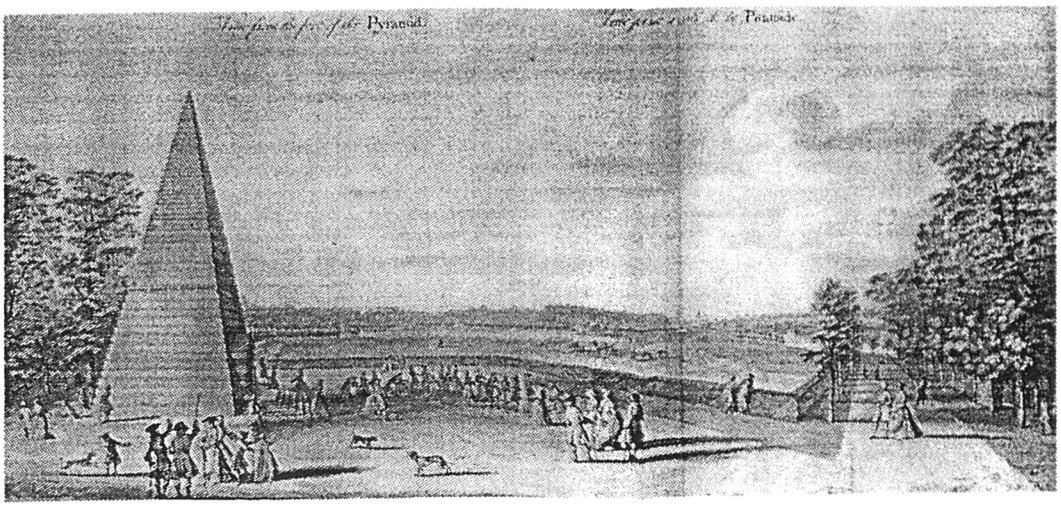

Fig. 27 Stowe. Rigaud, View from the foot of the Pyramid. Ink and Wash 1733-34. MMA. Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1942.

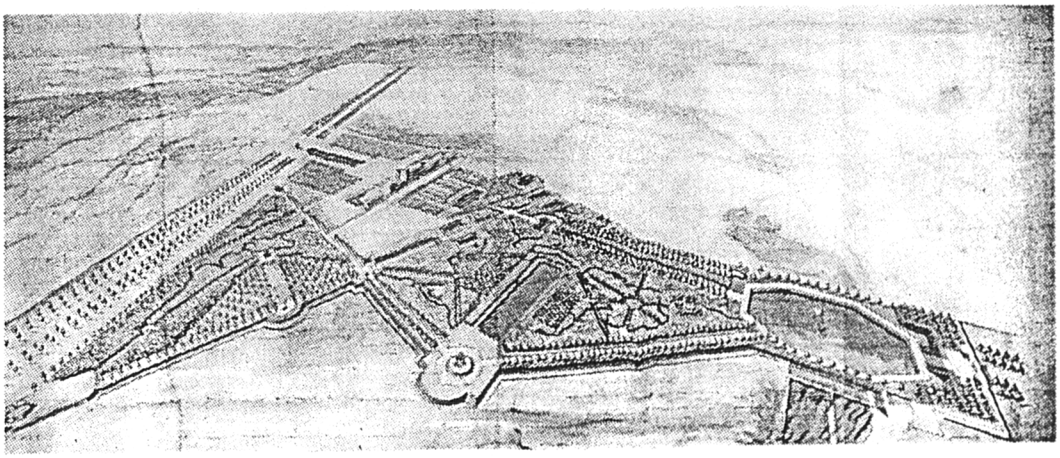

Fig. 28 Stowe. Bird's eye view. Bridgeman's plan 1720.

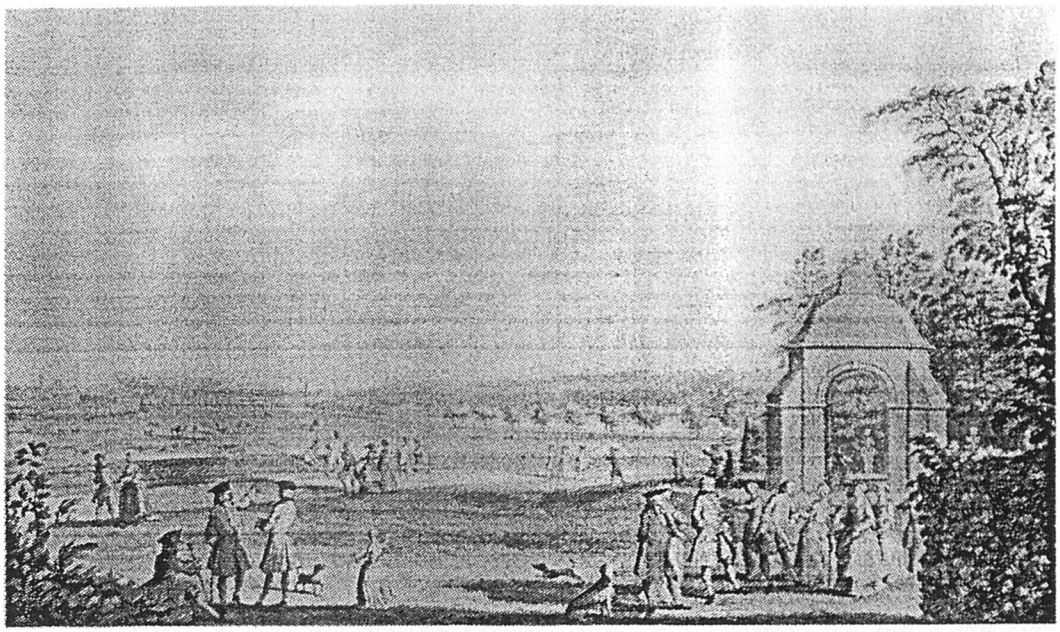

Fig. 29 Stowe. Rigaud, View from Gibb's Building, 1733. Left to Right: King George's Column/ Stowe Church/Rotunda/Queen Caroline's Monument/Home Park/Gurnet's Walk/Octagon Lake/Lake Pavilions/Hermitage/Lake Walk/Temple of Venus/Gibb's Building with Statues of British Worthies.

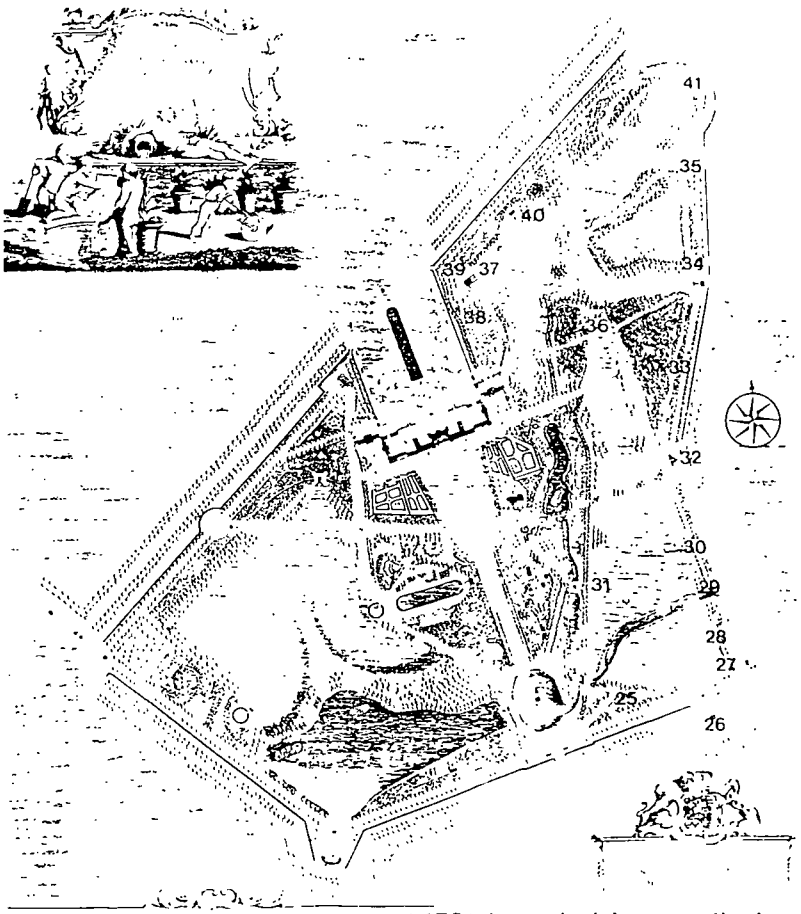

Fig. 30 Stowe. George Bickham's plan of 1750 shows the lake naturalised and the Elysian Fields to the right of the house, which were lanscaped by William Kent after 1733.

Fig. 31 Stowe House. The South front from the Corinthian Arch.

powers to enter every shop and house in the country to see that it was enforced. Cobham voted against the bill together with Lord Burlington, Lord Chesterfield, Lord Bathurst and others. The Prime Minister responded by depriving Lord Cobham of his position as Colonel of the Royal Dragoons. Cobham, who already disapproved of the Prime Minister's general political behaviour, began to form a faction of violent opposition which became a secessionist party within the Whigs, and rallied around Frederick Prince of Wales in opposition to George II and the court. They were known as "Boy Patriots" or as "Cobham's cubs" for their nucleus was formed by Cobham's nephews, in-laws and cousins: the Lytteltons, The Wests, and above all the Grenvilles and the Pitts.

In addition to the aim of creating a scenic landscape Cobham intended also to demonstrate his liberal and patriotic principles and comment on the degenerate corruption of Walpole's government .The programme of ideas expressed was devised by Lord Cobham and his circle, and reflects their cultural and political preoccupations.

The Elysian Fields are considered among the earliest and most influential example of an irregular or natural landscape. Kent created the River Styx and the whole area was planted with trees in irregular formation[69]. He designed the Temple of Ancient Virtue a round Ionic temple, for the Western bank of the River Styx (Fig. 32). This Temple contained statues of Homer, Socrates, Epaminondas and Lycurgus, respectively the greatest poet, philosopher, general and lawgiver of the Ancient World. Next to the Temple of Ancient Virtue was placed the Temple

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[69] J. D. Hunt, op.cit, 1987, pp. 49-59.

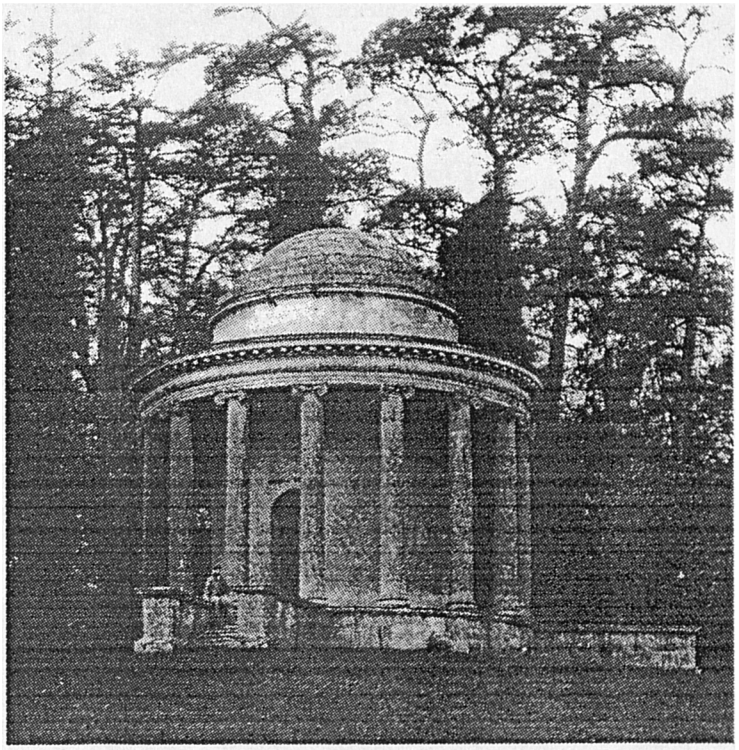

Fig. 32 Stowe. The Temple of Ancient Virtue. This Temple, modelled on the ruined Sybil's temple at Tivoli was designed by William Kent and built in 1735.

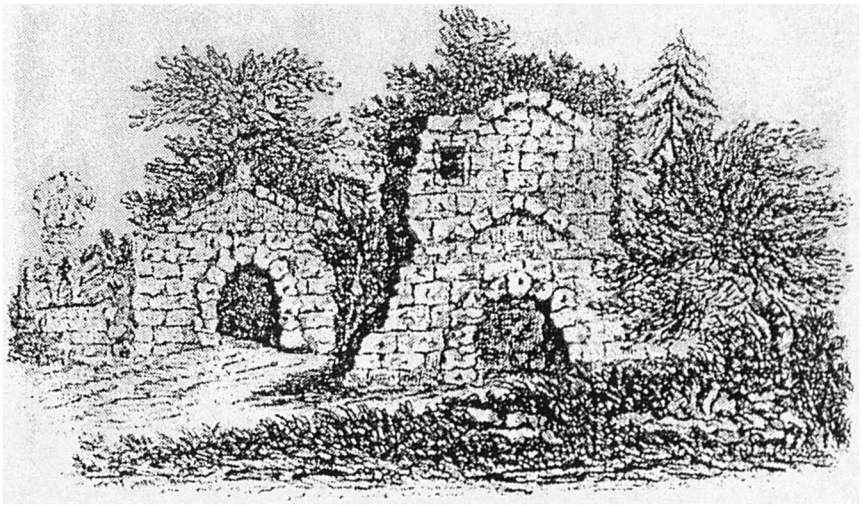

Fig. 33 The Temple of Modern Virtue designed by Kent in 1737. Engraving by George Bickham in *The Beauties of Stowe*, 1750.

of Modern Virtue, satirically designed as a ruin (only the foundations survive) and containing a headless statue said to be of Sir Robert Walpole[70] (Fig. 33). At a lower level, across the Styx was the Temple of British Worthies, from which one could "look up to" Ancient Virtue, as the unsurpassable exemplar and compare it with the nearby Temple of Modern Virtue, in ruins, symbol of the corruption of contemporary public life. It is worth quoting here William Gilpin's account of these opposing yet complementary temples. His Dialogue on the Gardens...at Stowe, published anonymously in 1748, is valuable both for its documentation of Stowe and emotional responses that places like Stowe evoked for eighteenth century visitors:

> There stand Lycurgus, there Socrates, there Homer; & there Epaminondas. Illustrious chiefs, who made Virtue their only Pursuit, and the Welfare of Mankind their only Study; in whose breasts mean Self-interest had no Possession. To establish a well-regulated constitution; to dictate the soundest Morality, to place Virtue in the amiable Light , were Ends which neither the Difficulty in overcoming the Prejudices, and taming the savage Manners of a barbarous State; the Corruptions of a licentious Age, and the Ill-usage of an invidious City; neither the vast Pains of searching into Nature, and laying up a Stock of Knowledge; nor popular Tumults at Home, and the most threatening dangers

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[70] George Clark," Grecian Taste and Gothic Virtue. Lord Cobham's Gardening Programme and Its Iconography", Apollo, 97, 1973, pp. 566-71.

> abroad, could ever tempt them to lose Sight of, or in the least abate that Ardency of Temper with which they pursued them....[71].

The Temple of British Worthies, across the river comprises a semi-circular exedra containing busts of British Worthies (Fig. 34). William Kent at about 1735 placed a stepped pyramid above the central block, and a bust of Mercury within a oval niche on the pyramid as the guide to the souls of the dead over the Styx into the Elysian Fields[72]. These Worthies were divided into men of contemplation on the left, and men of action on the right. King Alfred, The Black Prince, Elizabeth I, Walter Raleigh, Francis Drake, John Hampden and William III were the patriotic men (and woman) of action. The contemplative were Inigo Jones, William Shakespeare, Francis Bacon, John Locke, Isaac Newton, and Sir Thomas Gresham. On the return elevations at either end, were two busts of living heroes, the poet Alexander Pope and Sir John Barnard a MP who had voted against Walpole's Excise bill and who shared Lord Cobham views of government.[73]The inscriptions on the tablets over the busts were composed, it is thought, by members of Cobham's circle including Alexander Pope and Cobham's nephew George (later) Lord Lyttelton, secretary to the Prince of Wales and an amateur poet. Behind the superficial statement of the inscriptions which seemed straightforward and approving to the ordinary reader, lay innuendoes that revealed

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[71] William Gilpin, op. cit., London, 1748, pp. 19-20.
[72] Kent's source for this feature was Italian Renaissance garden design which he had become acquainted while studying as a painter in Italy. The particular source for British Worthies was probably the circus at the Villa Mattei in Rome, there is also a similar exedra with busts in niches at Villa Brenzone at San Vigilio on Lake Garda. See J.M. Robinson, op. cit., p. 90.
[73] Ibid.

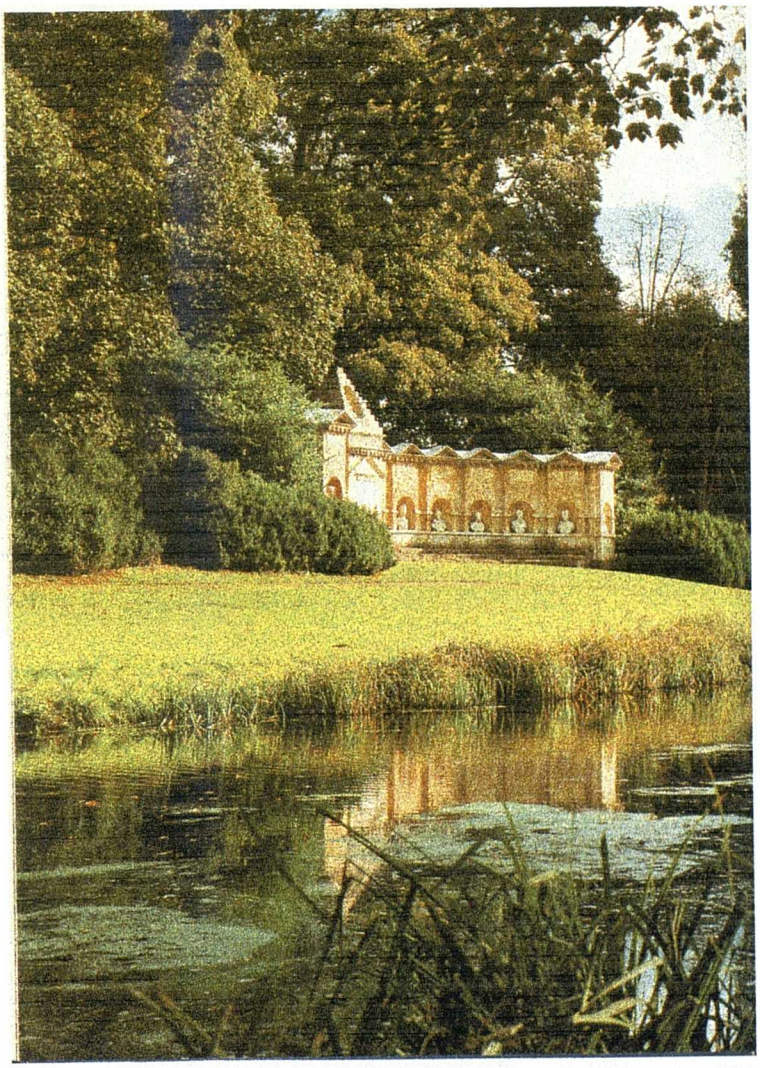

Fig. 34 Stowe. Temple of the British Worthies in the Elysian Fields.

a further meaning. Thus King Alfred's inscription was a covert attack on King George II emphasising the quality he was thought to lack :

> King Alfred / the mildest, most benificent of kings: / who drove out Danes secured the seas, protected learning / establish'd juries / crush'd corruption, guarded liberty; / and was the founder of the British Constitution.[74]

While the lavish praise for the Black Prince Edward, Prince of Wales (son of Edward III), was in reality concealed flattery for Frederick Prince of Wales:

> Edward Prince of Wales / the terror of Europe, the delight of England / who preserv'd unaltered in the height of glory, and fortune / his natural gentleness and modesty.[75]

This Temple of British Worthies is interpreted by Gilpin as follow:

> O! I see the whole Design: a very elegant Piece of Satyr, upon my Word ! This pompous Edifice is intended, I suppose to represent the flourishing Condition, in which ancient Virtue still exists; and those poor shattered Remains of what has never been very beautiful (notwithstanding I see, they are placed within few Yards

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[74] George Clark," Signor Fido and the Stowe Patriots", Apollo, 1985, 122 Oct-Dec, pp. 248-251.
[75] Ibid.

of a Parish- church) are designed to let us see the ruinous State of decayed modern Virtue. And the Moral is, that Glory founded upon true Worth and Honour, will exist, when Fame, built upon Conquest and popular Applause, will fade away...[76]

Another symbolic feature of the Elysian Fields was a marble fountain inscribed with some contemporary lines from Thomson's The Seasons (1730) referring to Stowe. Thomson had added a paragraph to The Seasons in 1744 in celebration of the "..fair majestic paradise of Stowe.." as he calls it. In this he refers to "..ardent genius tamed by cool judicious art...." praises Cobham's righteous political behaviour and comments on how his talents are wasted in retirement:

What pity, Cobham! Thou thy verdant files
Of ordered trees shouldst here inglorious range,
Instead of squadrons flaming o'er the field,
And long-embattled hosts! When the proud foe,
The faithless vain disturber of mankind,
Insulting Gaul, has roused the world to war;
When keen, once more, within their bounds to press
Those polished robbers, those ambitious slaves,
The British youth would hail thy wise command,

---

[76] William Gilpin, op.cit , p. 21.

Thy tempered ardour and thy veteran skill...[77]

His garden was not just meant to be pretty or even the expression of sound political principles, it was undertaken with the idea of revealing ideal truth to the human mind by the contemplation of nature in a perfected form of landscape:

While there with thee the enchanted round I walk,
The regulated wild, gay fancy then
Will tread in thought the groves of Attic land;
Will from thy standard taste refine her own,
Correct her pencil to the purest truth
Of Nature, or....raise it to the human mind.[78]

Cobham later continued to express his political message in another area of the garden. In the early 1740s, the area west of the Elysian Fields, Hawkwell Field was developed. Gibbs was again called to design Temples for this area. The Temple of Friendship,[79] which housed busts of Lord Cobham, Frederick, Prince of Wales and other members of the opposition was built in 1739 at the Southern end of the field (Fig. 35). The building celebrated Cobham's allegiance to the Prince of Wales who had fallen out with his father and was being wooed by the opposition in the expectation of future preferment, as well as providing a setting

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[77] James Thomson , op.cit., "Autumn", ll.1070-1080.
[78] Ibid, ll.1055-1060.
[79] William Gilpin notices the emblem of Friendship above the door, together with those of Justice and Liberty, op.cit.

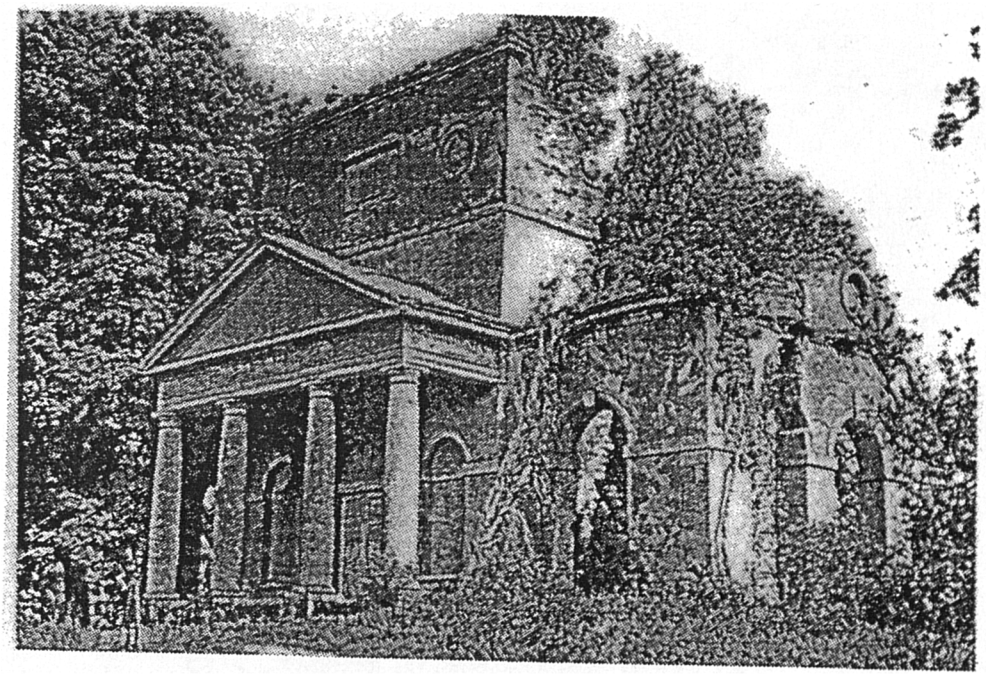

Fig. 35 Stowe. Temple of Friendship.

for convivial meetings of Cobham 's circle. This garden like Carlton House and Dawley farm became the place for opposition meetings, as reported by Gilbert's West (Cobham's nephew) in his poem Stowe, The Gardens of the Right Honourable Richard Viscount Cobham (1732):

> Here Congreve, welcome Guest, oft chear'd the Days,
> With friendly converse, or poetick Lays.
> Here Lyttleton oft spreads his growing Wing,
> Delighted in these Shades to rove and sing.
> And Thou, where the Thames impels his silver Flood,
> Quitting the Care of thy own rising Wood,
> Oft, as thy Breast, with pleasing Rapture glow'd, Hast here,
> O Pope, avow'd th'inspiring God....[80]

The Gothic Temple, one of the Gibbs' most original buildings was erected on a summit of a hill at the eastern edge of the field (Fig. 36). Cobham called this building the Temple of Liberty, to express his allegiance to the principles of England's ancient constitution - which all members of the opposition praised.[81]

By the end of the 1740s the garden contained dozens of other buildings. The grotto and shell temple stood at the head of the River Styx; the nearby Chinese House was one of the first "Chinoiserie" garden buildings in Europe. Other buildings included the allusive emblematic Congreve's monument which

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[80] Gilbert West, Stowe,The Gardens of the Right Honourable Richard Viscount Cobham, London, 1732, p. 3.
[81] See Chapter " The Early English Lanscape Garden and the Ideals of the Opposition".

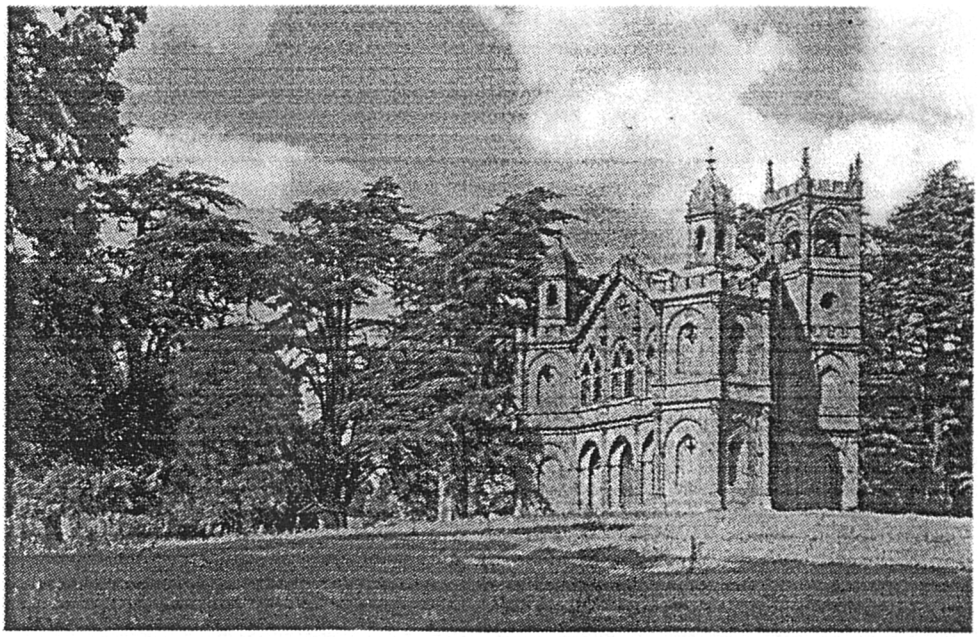

Fig. 36 Stowe. The Gothic Temple or Temple of Liberty.

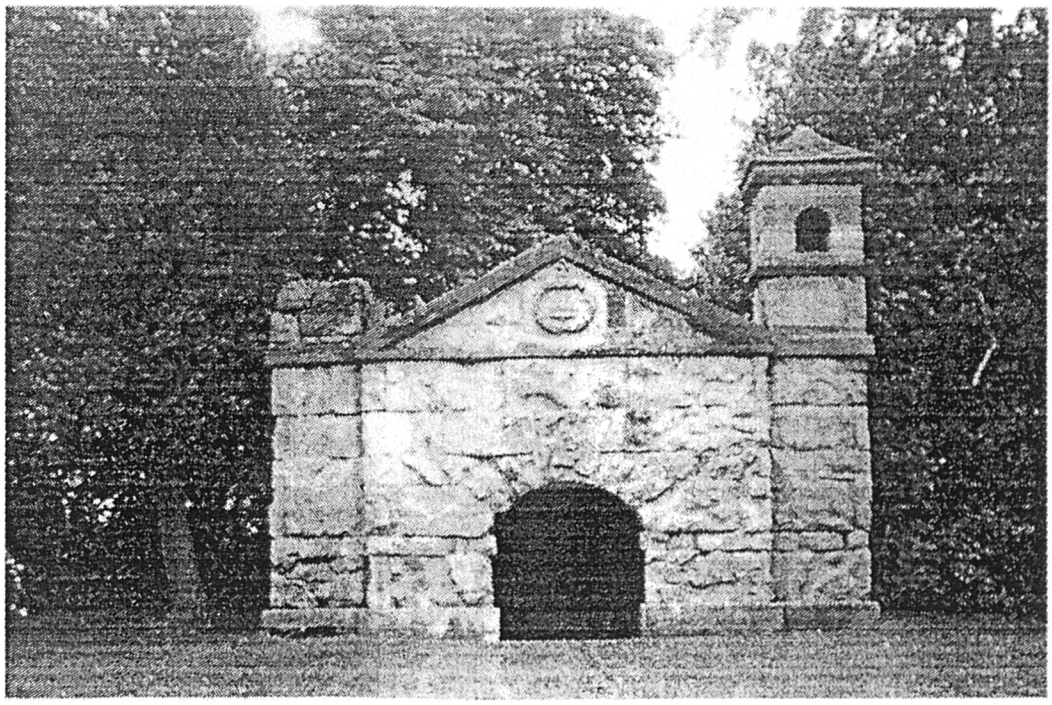

Fig. 37 Stowe. The Hermitage

wittily offers a monkey gazing itself in a mirror to celebrate the satirist's art, the Temple of Sleep and the Temple of Venus, the Hermitage, a rough stone building designed by Kent[82] (Fig. 37). During the 1740s Cobham's last project was the creation of the Grecian Valley stretching north and east of Hawkwell Field. The valley was probably planned by Cobham and his nephew Richard Grenville, himself an amateur architect and garden designer in collaboration with Lancelot Capability Brown the head gardener who came to Stowe in 1741. The Grecian Temple (today called Temple of Concord), an Ionic Temple with a hexastyle portico, was built overlooking the valley in the late 1740s[83].

This "new" style of gardening was closely associated with those who were in opposition to Walpole and who often had had previous dealings with Vanbrugh and Bridgeman as at Claremont and Esher where William Kent appears also to have been called as a matter of course. Before discussing these two gardens however we need to look at another famous estate where Kent was involved: Holkham Hall.

Thomas Coke inherited Holkham estate in 1707, at the age of ten. When, in 1712 he was fifteen he embarked for his Grand Tour which lasted six years and he met William Kent in Italy. They were in Venice together and visited Palladian villas. He returned in 1718 from the Tour and about 1720 he started the building of the house in Palladian style (Fig. 38), sketched by William Kent, carried out by Matthew Brettingham and inspired by Coke's friend Lord Burlington.[84] Thomas Coke was a typical product of his generation and class, a bibliophile and art

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[82] George Clark, op.cit., 1973, pp. 566-571.
[83] Michael Bevignton, op. cit., pp. 152-160.
[84] James Lees-Milne, op.cit, pp. 221-232.

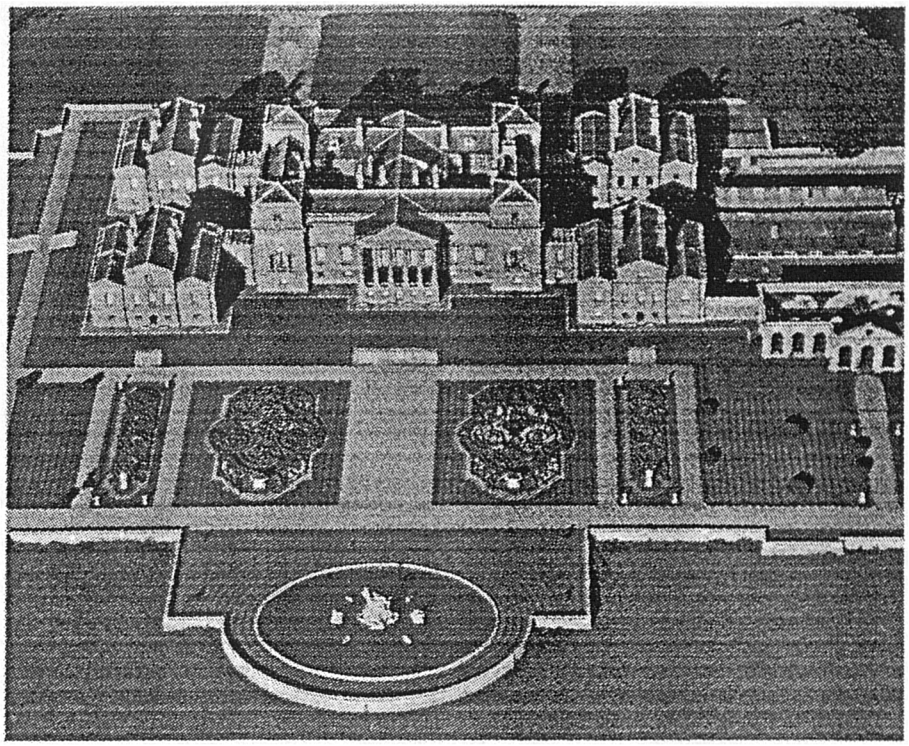

Fig. 38 Holkham Hall, Norfolk, aerial view.

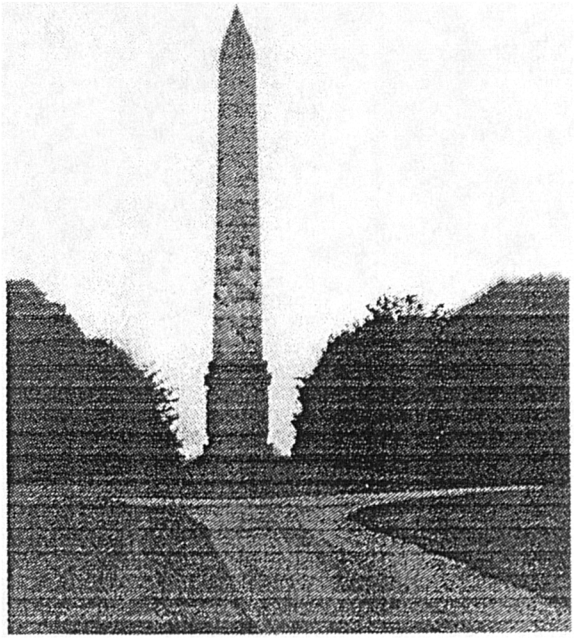

Fig. 39 Holkham Hall, obelisk

collector he possessed a valuable collection of paintings, sculptures rare manuscripts and books which he kept in the superb palace he built at Holkham. From about 1727 onwards he was landscaping the garden with Kent's help. An obelisk he designed was erected in 1719 (Fig. 39) on the axis of the house and eight vistas were made to open from it in different directions. One due North to the new house, one to a Triumphal Arch also designed by Kent. This consisted of rusticated stone with pyramids over the side arches which recalled Vanbrugh archways at Castle Howard (Fig. 40). Another vista towards south-east showed another neo-palladian temple (the Temple in the Woods) designed by Kent (Fig. 41), which was an adaptation of Burlington's Chiswick orangery based on Palladio's S. Francesco della Vigna façade.[85] A further two vistas, an old parish church on a steep wooden hill and a town, and the remainder were two distant plantations. Holkham Hall, however tends to be better known for its mansion, one of the most perfect specimens of a great Palladian country house.

Claremont was owned by Thomas Pelham, Duke of Newcastle (1693-1768) which he purchased from Sir John Vanbrugh in 1714 and renamed Claremont (its original name was Chargate) when he was created Earl of Clare in 1714. Vanbrugh had built the house in 1709-11 for himself.[86] He was also the designer of the belvedere built in 1715 (Fig.42). This castellated building, one of Vanbrugh's earliest garden buildings, preceded the Gothic garden structures at Cicencester, Stowe, Hagley and the Leasowes by many years.[87]The gardens were

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[85] J. Dixon Hunt,op.cit., 1987, pp. 60-61.
[86] K. Downes, op. cit, 1977, p. 50.
[87] John Harris, op. cit., 1993, pp. 223-225.

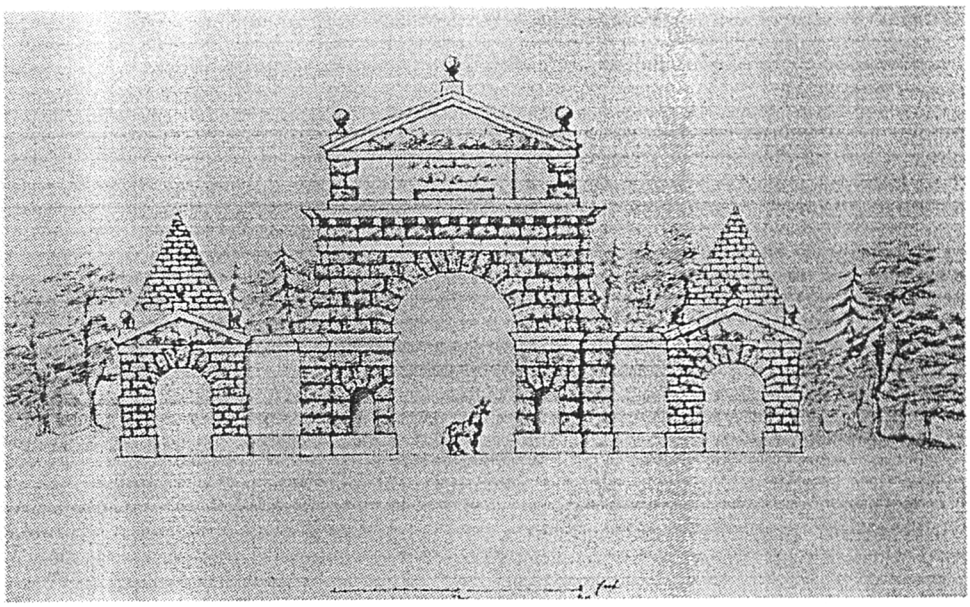

Fig. 40 Holkham Hall. Triumphal Arch, drawing by Kent c. 1744

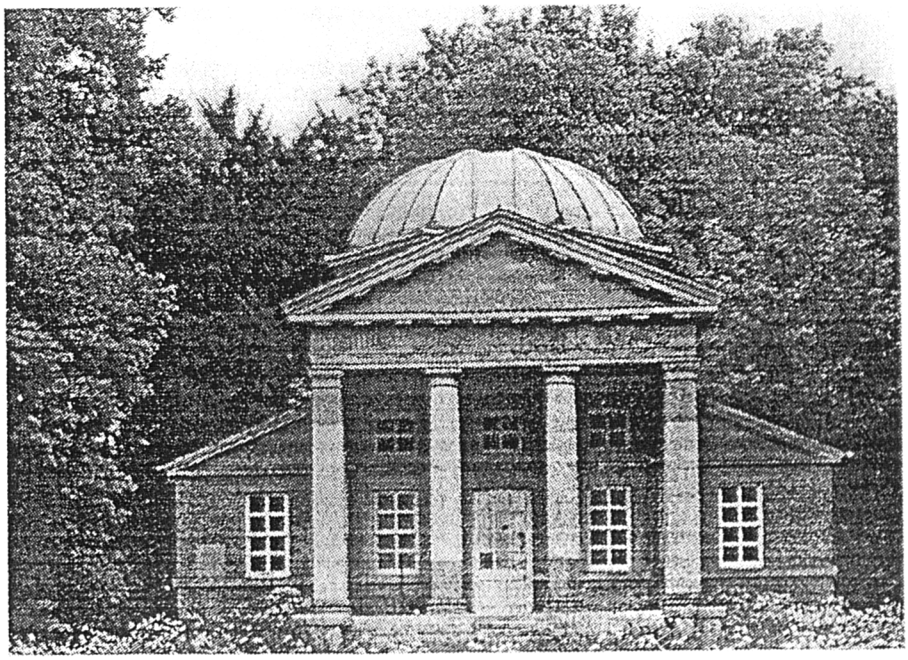

Fig. 41 Holkham Hall. Kent's Temple in the Wood.

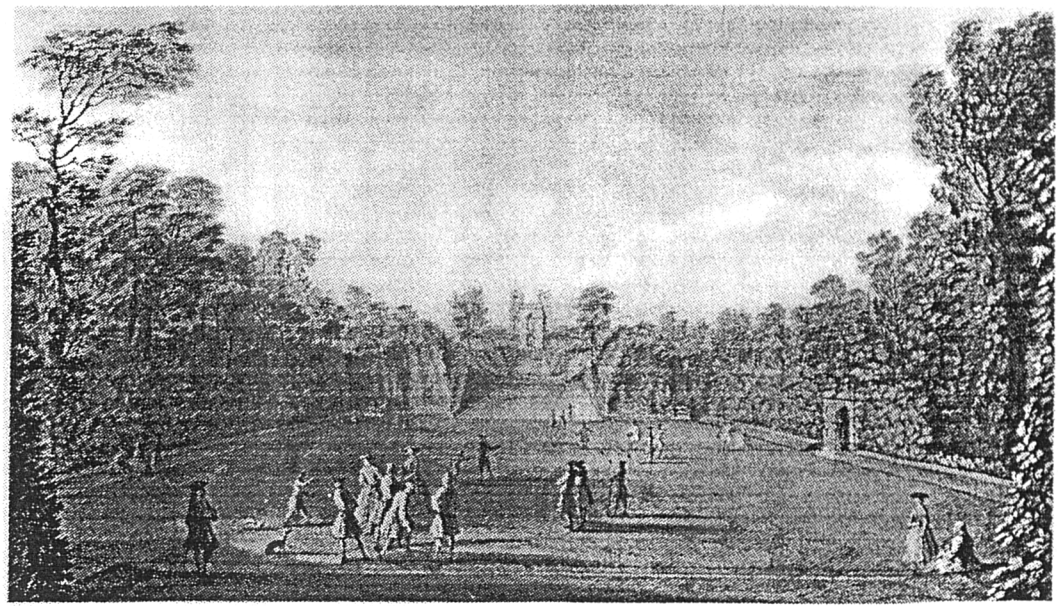

Fig. 42 Claremont. John Rocque's drawing of the Bowling Green (1738). This view shows Vanbrugh's belvedere at the end of the formal layout on the top of the ridge. Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

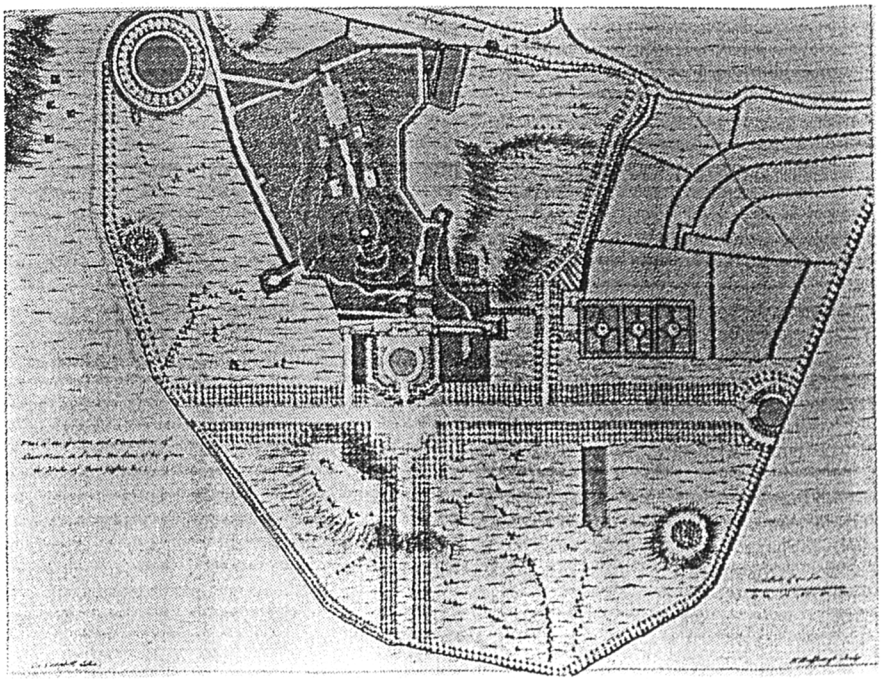

Fig. 43 Bridgeman's plan of Claremont. Engraving from C. Campbell *Vitruvius Britannicus* III, 1725, pls. 67-68.

first laid out with the advice of Charles Bridgeman in 1720 (Fig. 43) and by 1725 there were serpentine paths winding up through woods from the house to the belvedere, a straight avenue along the spine of the hill to the bowling green and, most spectacular of all, the turf amphitheatre.[88] (Fig.44-45) William Kent began to alter the original garden layout from 1730 if not earlier. The changes he made are recorded in Rocque's plan of the gardens (1738) (Fig. 46). The main lines of Bridgeman's garden were softened. Kent broke up straight lines, created an irregular lake with an island in the centre and added several other buildings. These included the Temple, the Bowling Green House, the Nine Pin Alley and the Alcove, all of which are illustrated in the margins of Rocque's 1738 plan. He also built a small rusticated Temple on the island and designed a cascade for the lake south shore[89](Fig. 47).

At the nearby Esher, since 1729 property of Henry Pelham, Kent also played a part in softening the severe geometric design of the garden (Fig. 48). Henry Pelham, like his brother Thomas, Duke of Newcastle, was involved in politics in championing the Whig cause from 1715. After the downfall of Sir Robert Walpole he went on to become Prime Minister in the same year, at the head of a stronger party more widely based, the so-called broad-bottom administration. (broad-botton government included also members of the Opposition like William Pitt).[90] Kent began to work in the gardens about 1733. He replaced the formal gardens with grassy lawns stretching west from the house

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[88] Peter Willis, op. cit., p.48.
[89] J. Dixon Hunt, op.cit., 1987, p. 71-74.
[90] Michael Symes, op. cit., p.70.

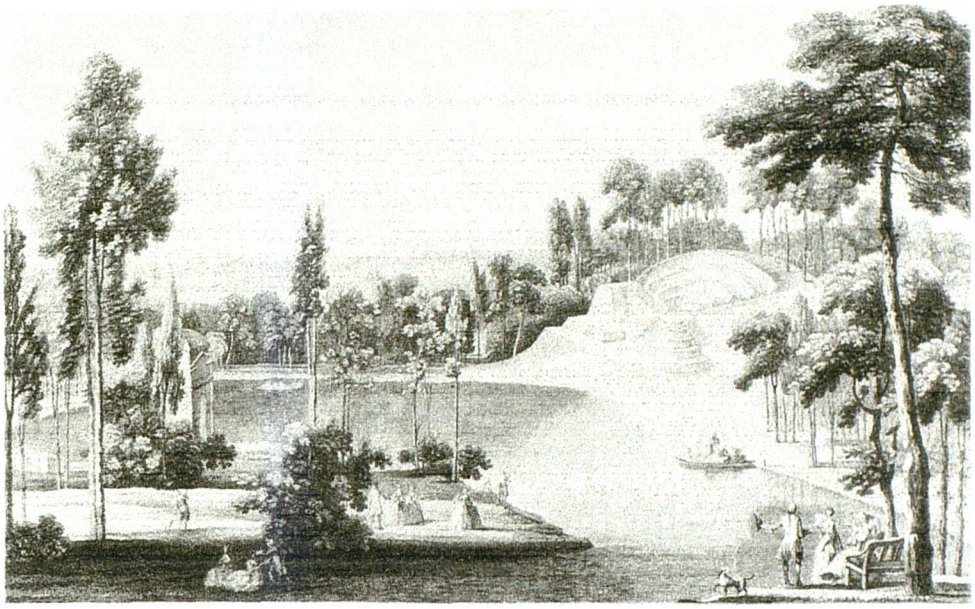

Fig. 44 Claremont. J. Rocque view of the lake, amphitheatre and Island Temple, 1754.

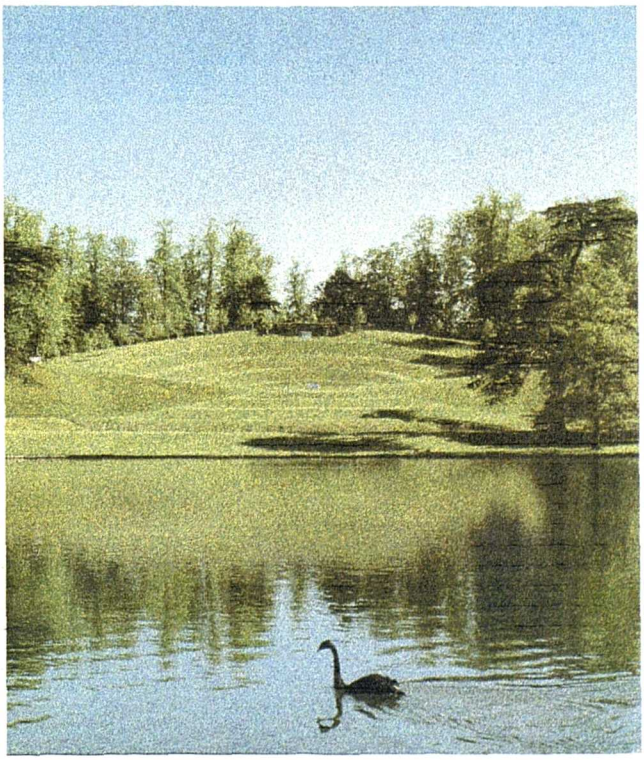

Fig 45 Claremont. The amphitheatre today.

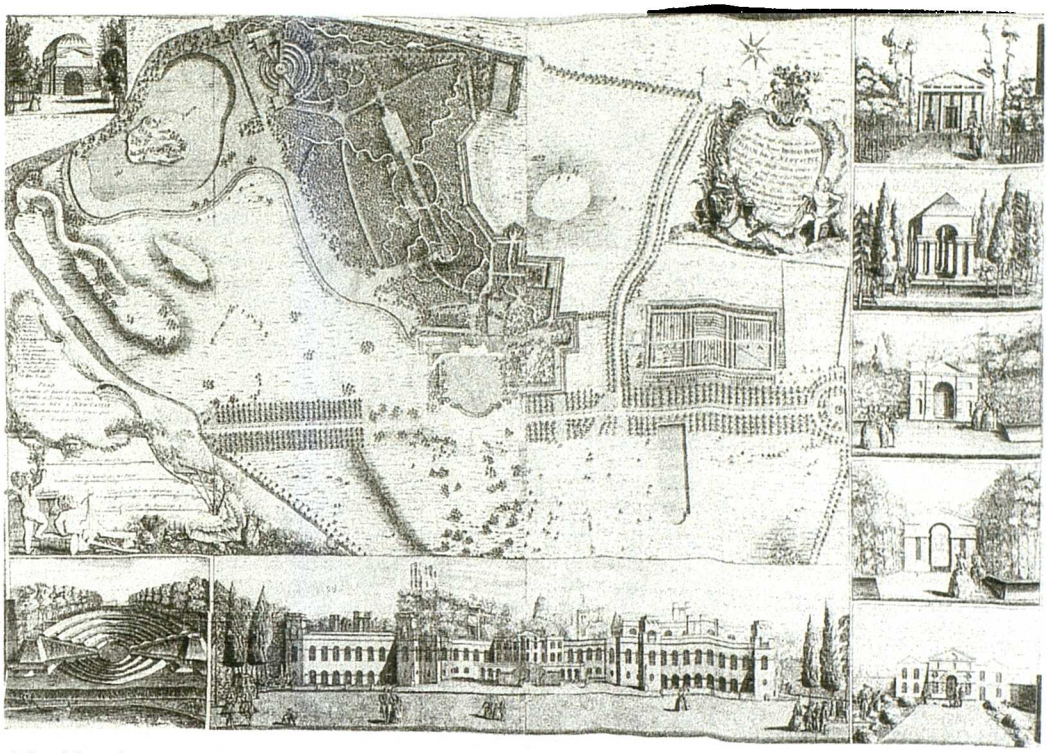

Fig.46 Claremont. J. Rocque engraved plan c. 1739.

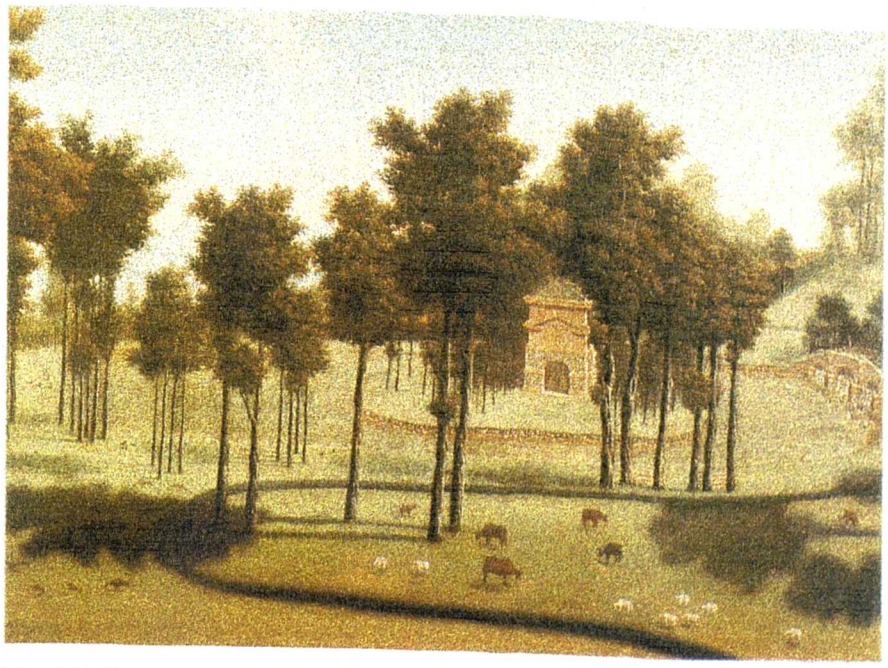

Fig. 47 Claremont. A view of the Island Temple and cascade, also showing the ha-ha, painted c.1742-5 by the Master of the Tumbled Chairs and another, private collection.

Fig. 48 Esher. View of Esher, 1759.

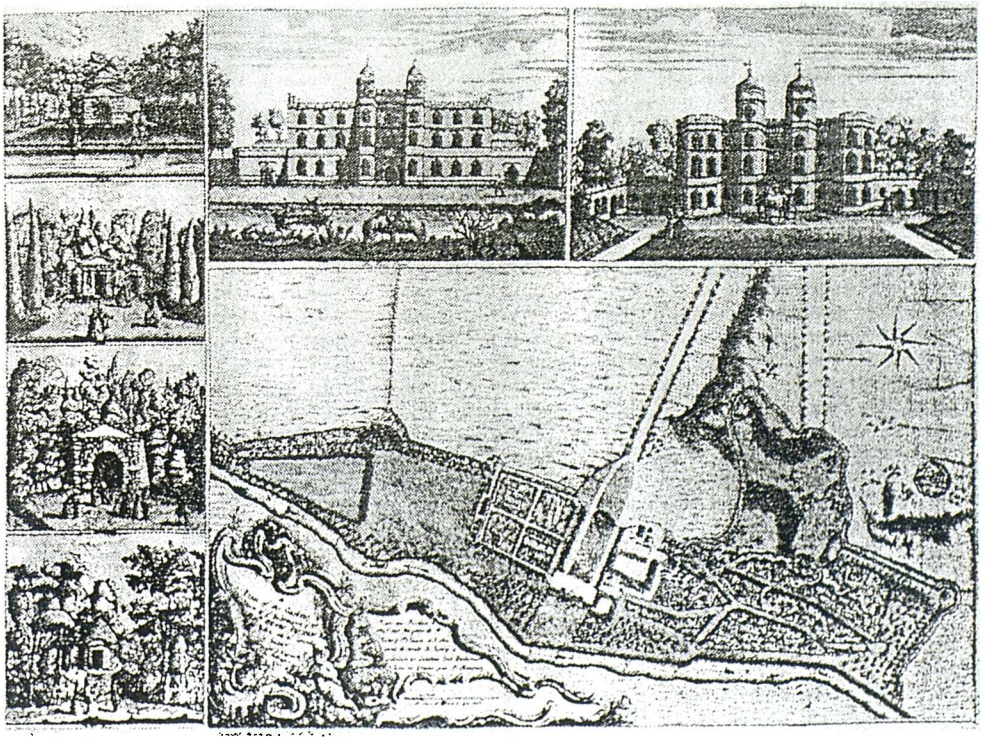

Fig. 49 Esher. J. Rocque, engraved plan of Esher Place, 1737.

to the river and north towards a triangular pond which was retained from the earlier layout. To the South he created a dense grove intersected by straight and serpentine paths and opening and closing glades (Fig.49). This type of grove was similar to those at Pope's Villa, Rousham, as well as Wilton and Claremont, and embodies the essence of Pope's principles of contrast, surprise and confusion of bounds. Esher was much admired by Horace Walpole, who commented in a letter to George Montague: "...Esher I have seen again twice and prefer it to all Villas, even to Southcote's [at Woburn Farm] Kent is Kentissime there..."[91]

The garden ornaments Kent designed for Esher are illustrated in the margins of Rocque's plan and have affinities with the contemporary garden buildings at Claremont. The Temple, which stood at the very northern end of a triangular pond was for example very similar to the island temple at Claremont. It consisted of a Tuscan portico with a pediment supported by four columns and an octagonal room formed the centre of the Temple.[92] The Hermitage which has disappeared, was a rather primitive construction similar to the one Kent built for Queen Caroline at Richmond gardens. The Thatched House, also gone, was a simple building with a conical thatched roof. The Grotto which still survives consists of a central chamber with a classical portico of four columns, leading back into the hill, and two side alcoves which are connected by a corridor to the main chamber. According to contemporary descriptions there were particularly attractive plantings around the Grotto[93] (Fig. 50). As was typical of these gardens,

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[91] Horace Walpole, Correspondence, 11 August 1748, Vol 9, p.71.
[92] J.Dixon Hunt,op.cit., 1987, pp. 74-79.
[93] Michael Symes, op. cit., pp. 73-86.

Fig. 50 Drawing of Esher Grotto, R.T. Pritchett, 1868.

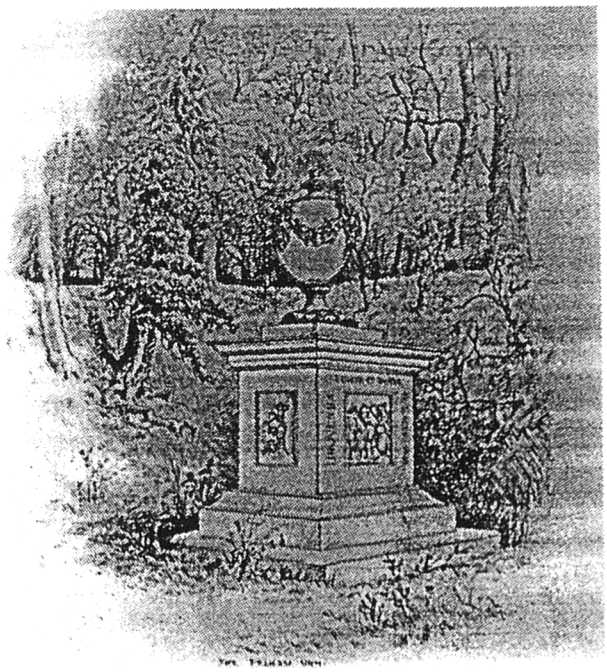

Fig. 51 Drawing of Pelnham Urn by R.T. Pritchett, 1868

an urn dedicated to Pelham was placed later (1755) in the enclosed garden near the house (Fig. 51).

As he did with Cobham's garden, in The Seasons Thomsons praised both Claremont and Esher and emphasized the character of Esher as a place of retirement, away from politics and court intrigue:

> Claremont's terrassed height, and Esher's groves,
> Where in the sweetest solitude, embraced
> By soft windings of the silent Mole,
> From courts and senates Pelham finds repose...[94]

In The Seasons Thomson also mentions Hagley Park in Worcestershire, the creation of the first Lord Lyttleton 1709-73, secretary to Frederick, Prince of Wales, and a member of the group of dissident Whigs opposing Walpole (under the leadership of his uncle Lord Cobham). He was Chancellor of the Exchequer in the Duke of Newcastle's administration which lasted only one year. When he resigned in 1756, he was elevated to the peerage.[95]

George Lyttelton was not only a politician, he was a poet, an historian and a patron of men of letters. James Thomson allowed him to correct The Seasons where there is a long passage in praise of Hagley:

> O Lyttelton, the Friend! Thy Passions thus

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[94] James Thomsons, op. cit., "Spring", ll. 900-927.
[95] Gordon Nares, op. cit., pp. 546-547.

And Meditations vary, as at large,

Courting the Muse, thro' Hagley Park you stray,

Thy British Tempe ! There along the Dale,

With Woods o'er-hung, and shag'd with mossy Rocks,

Whence on each hand the gushing Waters play,

And down the rough Cascade white-dashing fall,

Or gleam in lengthen'd Vista thr' the Trees,

You silent steal; or seat beneath the Shade

Of solemn Oaks, that tuft the swelling Mounts

Thrown graceful round by Nature's careless Hand,

And pensive listen to the various Voice

Of rural Peace: the Herds, the Flocks, the Birds,

The hollow-whispering Breeze, the Plaint of Rills,

That, purling down amid the twisted Roots

Which creep around, their dewy Murmurs shake

On the sooth'd Ear. From these abstracted oft,

You wander through the Philosophic World;

Where in bright Train continual Wonders rise,

Or to the curious or the pious Eye.

And oft, conducted by Historic Truth,

You tread the long Extent of backward Time:

Planning, with warm Benevolence of Mind,

And honest Zeal unwarp'd by Party-Rage,

Britannia's Weal; how from the venal Gulph

To raise her Virtue, and her Arts revive.[96]

Thomson here exalts Lyttelton's political virtue, and "honest Zeal" both of which his garden reflects. Lyttelton started work on the estate in the early 1740s with Stowe probably his principal inspiration. In planning the layout he consulted his friend Sanderson Miller, an amateur architect who was later to design the house and who also built one of earliest park building: the Ruined Castle (1747) which lies on high ground to the southeast (Fig.52). Contemporary with Miller's Castle was built the Ionic Rotunda, similar to the one at Stowe (Fig.53). It was designed by John Pitt, a cousin of the politician William Pitt and frequent visitor to Hagley. To the Gothic castle and the Roman Rotunda, Lyttelton soon added a Greek temple called the Temple of Thesus .This was the first building of the Greek revival in England and was designed by James "Athenian" Stuart in 1753, whose drawings of ancient architecture in Athens did much to focus attention on the authentic art of the Greeks.[97]

These three buildings, each in its diverse way, are the most important of the various objects that embellish the landscape, but there were many others, some of which still survive. These include: the obelisk, a statue of Apollo, a Palladian bridge similar to those at Stowe and Wilton (Fig. 54), a Hermitage, a grotto, a cascade, a statue of Venus, urns commemorating Pope and Shenstone and seats to Thomson and Milton. Hagley Park contains also a monument to Frederick Prince of Wales, Lyttelton's political patron. This consists of a Corinthian column

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[96] James Thomson, op. cit., ll. 905-930.
[97] James Stevens Curl, Classical Architecture, London, 1992, pp.148-150.

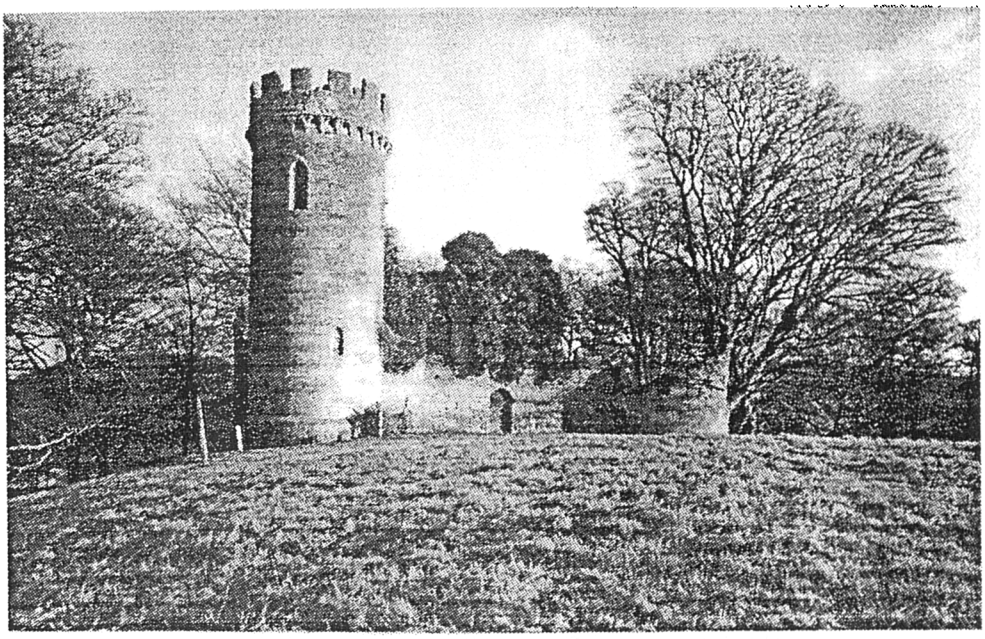

Fig. 52 Hagley Park. Gothic Ruin.

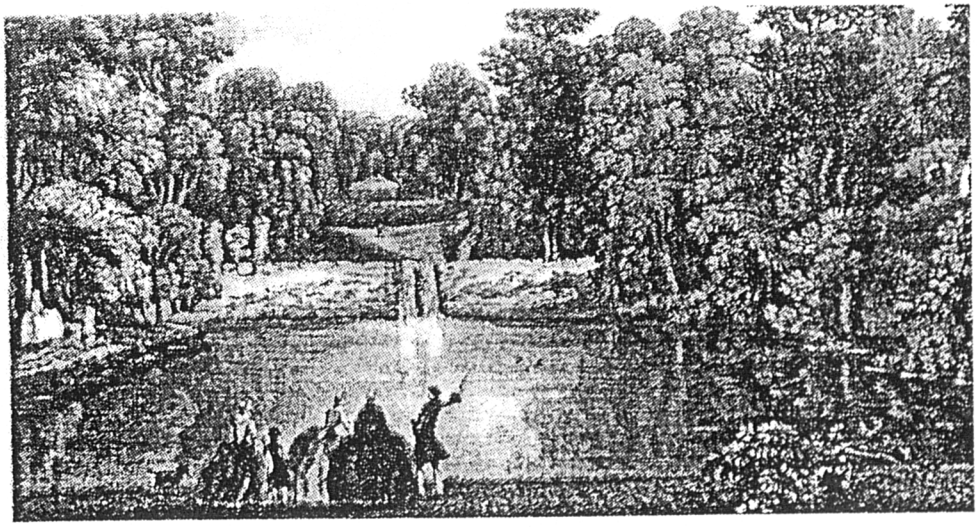

Fig. 53 Hagley Park. View of the lake with Rotunda and cascade, author unknown.

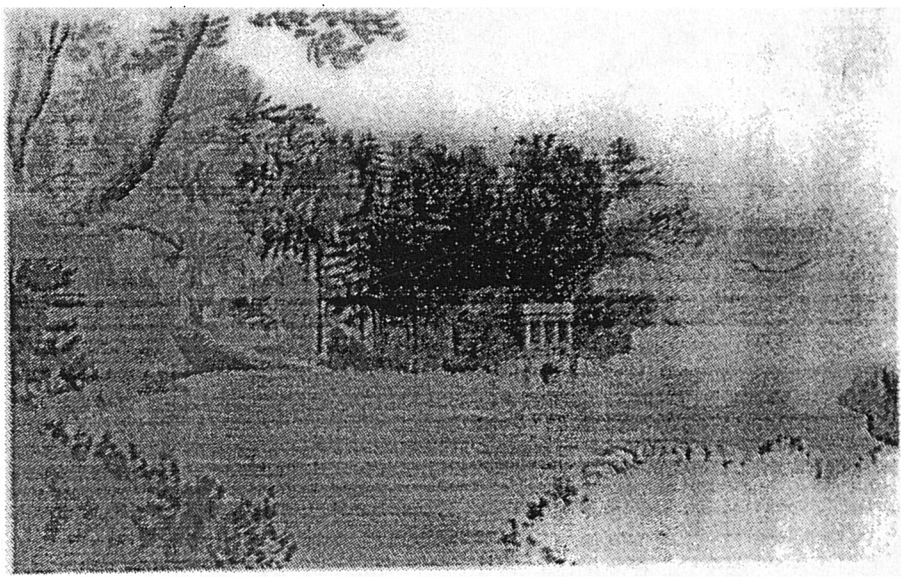

Fig. 54 Hagley, watercolour by Reverend Thomas Streatfield (1820) of the Palladian bridge.

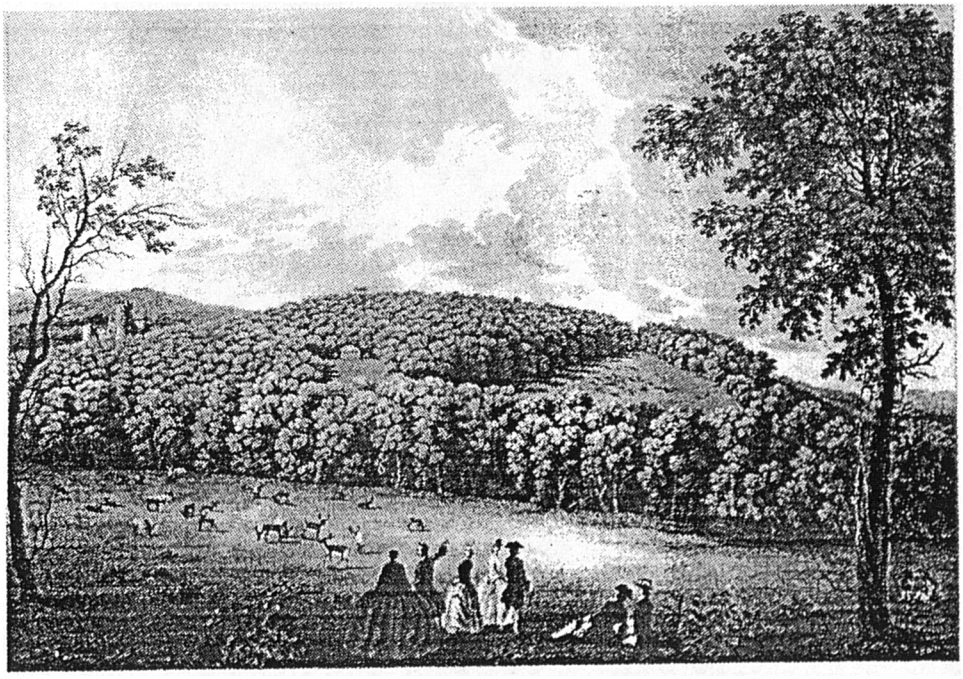

Fig. 55 Hagley Park, Worchestershire. After Thomas Smith 1749. On the left hand side of the hill, the Gothic ruin by Sanderson Miller, in the centre Pope's seat; on the upper right hand side of the hill was Milton seat.

surmounted by a statue of the Prince, which stands on a hill overlooking the park. Another building was a Doric Portico which marked one of Pope's favourite spots in the park[98] (Fig.55).

Hagley's park was famous for its beauty and taste and many visitors or friends of the owner recorded their impressions in verse and prose. Apart from Thomson these included: Horace Walpole, Richard Peacocke and Joseph Heely. All of them praised the views of trees, groves, hills and buildings that could be obtained in different parts of the garden. Joseph Heely in Letters on the Beauties of Hagley, Envil and The Leasowes writes:

> no woods ever more nobly graced the rising hill, or extended themselves so happily down the valley, no lawns ever appeared richer in verdure, in diversity, and in beauty.....[99]

Heely records also the picturesque variety of the park and how the visitor passes from a melancholic scene to a joyful or terrifying one. After describing two monuments erected to the memory of Lord Lyttelton and his wife, he writes:

> I hurried away from these melancholy repositories of the dead, with reflections I don't chuse to trouble you with; and came to a narrow easy waving path, by the side of a pebble rill, that led me to

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[98] Morris Brownell, op. cit., pp. 219-23.
[99] Joseph Heely, Letters on the Beauties of Hagley, Envil and The Leasowes, London, 1777, Vol. I, pp. 168-9.

> a rude, gloomy hollow, with every appearance of its being left in that state, by some violent concussion, or inundation.....I stepped into the midst of it, to a simple bench under a tree; and from the gaity of a park, open, and filled with chearful objects, found myself in a moment immersed in a wild, disordered, and savage solitude. I was surrounded by steep, abrupt, and hanging banks, devoid of verdure, trees of an amazing height, some in the bottom, others as if slipped down the sides, confusedly jumbled together; their roots exposed, creeping along, and over the ground ragged huge stones, seemingly rolled, or driven there, by some violence, in the utmost disorder, rocky cascades and the dribbing of springs...[100]

Today the park is overgrown and only the Rotunda, the Ruined Castle and the Greek Temple still remain.

The schemes of all the gardens described so far were politically and ideologically linked, there were however a number of garden designs which were done for patrons who belonged to the Tory party but shared the same opposition ideals of the Boy Patriots. In the design of these "Tory places" Pope was the main figure involved.

The most famous of these gardens and one of the largest estates landscaped during the first half of the eighteenth century is Cirencester park, situated at the edge town of Cirencester in Gloucestershire. Allen, first Earl

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[100] Ibid., p.126-128.

Bathurst (1684-1775) began laying out the park in 1715[101]. He had inherited part of this land, the Home Park, in 1704. In 1716 he bought Oakley Wood. This formed a continuous tract of woodland connected with Home Park. As we can see from the plan, (Fig. 56) Bathurst laid out the park in straight alleys radiating from ronds-points and the widest of these was the Broad Avenue (Fig.57,58). Some of the avenues were terminated by small temples, like the Hexagon, a six-sided temple built of rusticated stone, and Pope's seat, a Doric portico flanked by niches. He occasionally interrupted these intersections with irregular glades or valleys and contrived a lake. Bathurst's Park is best remembered for the thousands of trees he planted in the park: beeches, chestnuts, elms, oaks, yews and various conifers. It was the variety of seasonal colour, within the predominantly regular pattern, which led contemporaries to rank him high among the planters[102]. Horace Walpole praised him, for having made planting subservient to utility and ornament and for having created scenes of unsurpassed beauty [103], while Pope in the Epistle to Lord Burlington (1731) mentions him as an exemplary landlord who put into practise the principle of utility by investing his wealth in a garden also for the benefit of Farming and Forestry:

> Who then shall grace, or who improve the Soil ?
>
> Who plants like BATHURST, or who builds like BOYLE.
>
> 'Tis Use alone that sanctifies Expence,

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[101] James Lees- Milne, op. cit., pp. 21-56 ; see also Peter Martin, op. cit., pp. 81-94.
[102] Christopher Hussey, "Cirencester House II The Park", Country Life, 23 June, 1950, pp.1180-1184.
[103] Horace Walpole, Anectdotes of Painting in England, Chapter XXIV "On Modern Gardening" London, 1876.

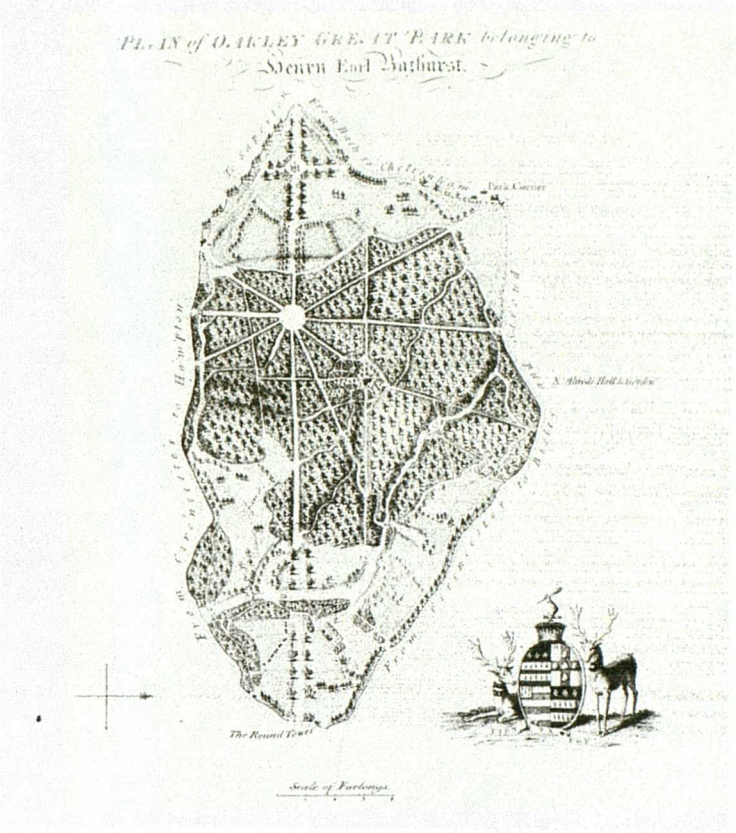

Fig. 56 . Cirencester: Plan of Oakley Great Park. I. Taylor after B. F. Lewis 1779.

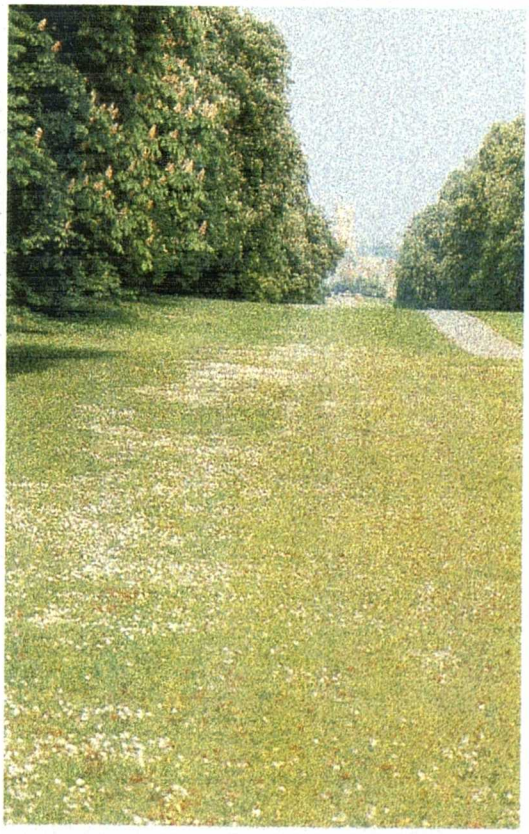

Fig. 57 Cirencester. The Broad Avenue looking back towards Cirencester church, on which is aligned.

And Splendor borrows all her rays from Sense.

His Father's Acres who enjoys in peace,

Or makes his Neighbours glad, if he encrease;

Whose chearful Tenants bless their yearly toil'

Yet to their Lord owe more than to the soil;

Whose ample Lawns are not asham'd to feed

The milky heifer and deserving steed;

Whose rising Forests, not for pride or show,

But future Buildings, future Navies grow:

Let his plantations stretcht from down to down,

First shade a Country, and then raise a Town.[104]

Pope was especially fond of Cirencester and spent long periods of time there. When the Prince of Wales visited Cirencester in 1738, Pope wrote to George Lyttelton about the education Bathurst could give the Prince in the arts of gardening and architecture.[105] Bathurst nearly always consulted him before laying out the different areas of the park. In a letter, in 1728, Pope wrote to Bathurst to advise him to consider building a pyramid and shows his disappointment in finding that Bathurst had made some improvements without consulting him:

Nevertheless my Lord (to prove that I am not angry, but with a mixture of charity inclined to rectify, what I disapprove) I would not advise you to an obelisque which can bear no Diameter to fill

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[104] Alexander Pope, Epistle to Lord Burlington, London, 1731, ll.177-190.
[105] Morris R. Brownell, op. cit , pp. 188-195.

> so vast a Gap unless it literally touch'd the Skies; but rather a Pyramid of 100 ft. Square, to the end there may be Something and Lasting of your works....[106]

Pope himself probably designed Alfred's Hall, a mock medieval castle which was begun in 1721 and is counted among the earliest of the medieval garden follies which later became popular in England (Fig.59). Alfred's Hall might seem a curious element in a Tory's garden[107] for King Alfred also figured in the propaganda of the Whig opposition to Walpole. However Whigs (like Cobham and the "Boy Patriots") and Tories often united in their efforts to overthrow Walpole's government. Lord Bolingbroke, a Tory, was the guiding force behind The Craftsman, the foremost opposition newspaper, which printed several essays alluding to King Alfred's devotion to liberty and constitution.

Pope also had an input on the layout of Ralph Allen's Prior Park in Somerset. As before (see Cirencester) he played an important role as advisor on the layout of the gardens (Fig.60). The friendship between Pope and Allen dates from the mid 1730s when Allen was planning to build a large house at Widcombe, overlooking the city of Bath . The final plan agreed on by Allen and the architect John Wood was the popular Palladian one and the house seems to have been influenced by Wanstead in Essex, the work of Colen Campbell (Fig. 61).[108]The

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[106] G. Sherburn ed., The Correspondence of Alexander Pope, Vol. 2, Oxford, 1956, p. 517.
[107] James Lees-Milne, op. cit., pp. 21-33.
[108] Ibid.

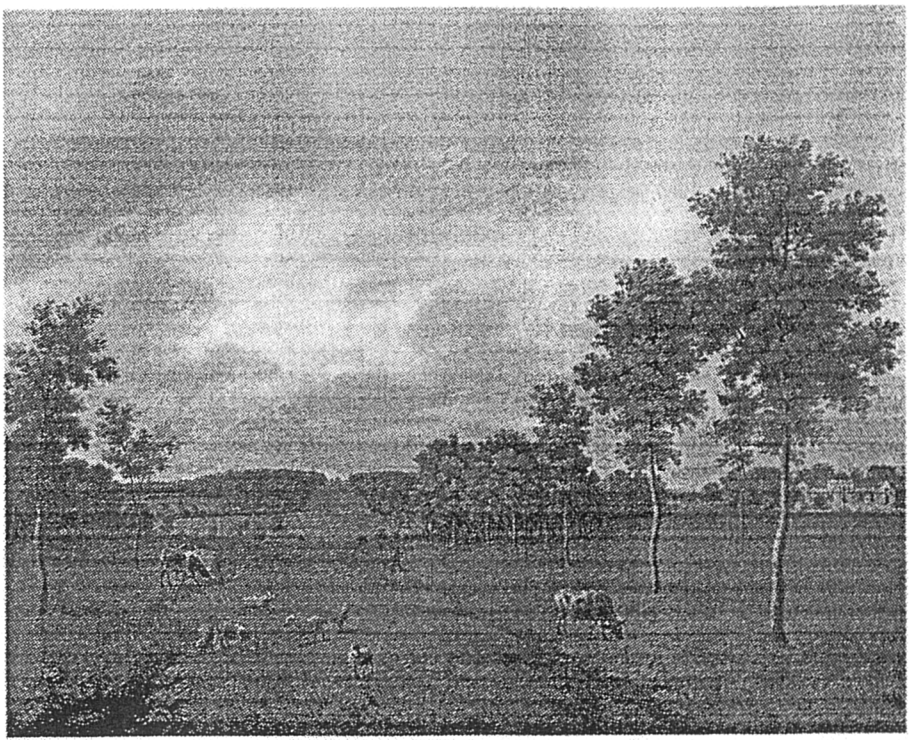

Fig. 58 The Park of Cirencester painted by George Lambert (c. 1730), showing the Broad Ride and Ivy Lodge in a typical balance of formality and informality.

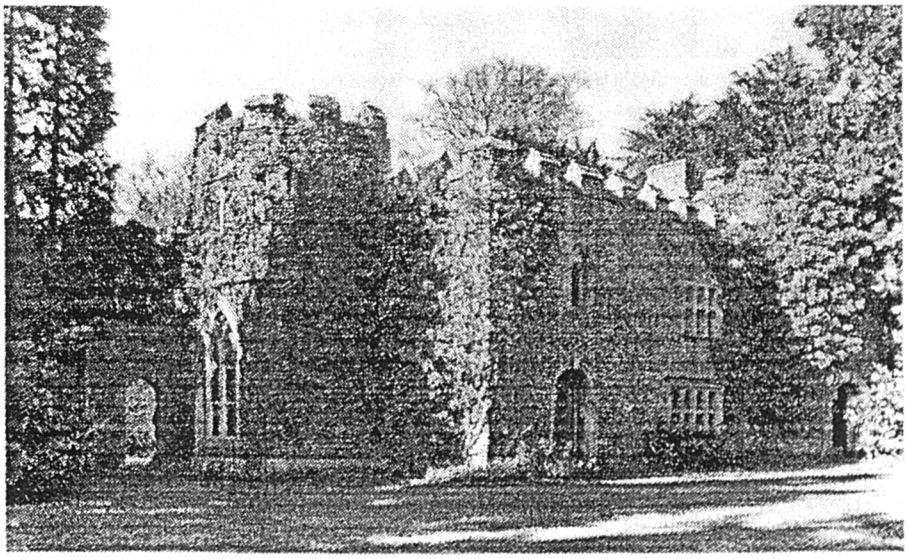

Fig. 59 Cirencester, Alfred Hall.

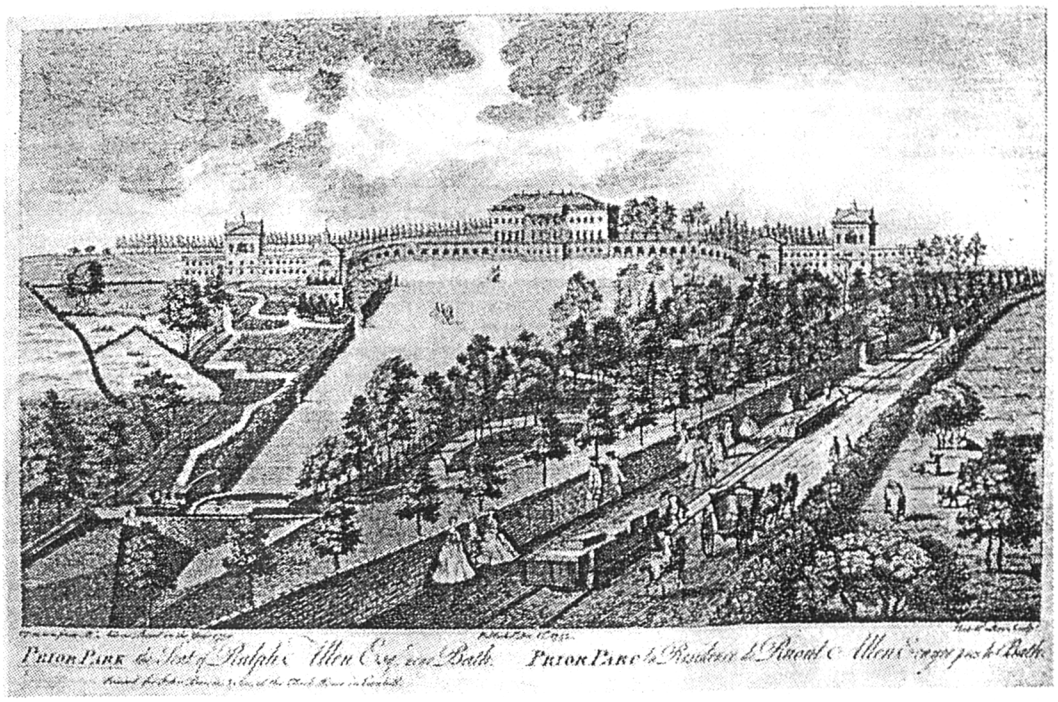

Fig. 60 Prior Park. Engraving by Anthony Walker, 1752. This shows in detail the long wilderness on the right, with winding paths, the kitchen garden on the left, and the central basin at the bottom of the sloping lawn.

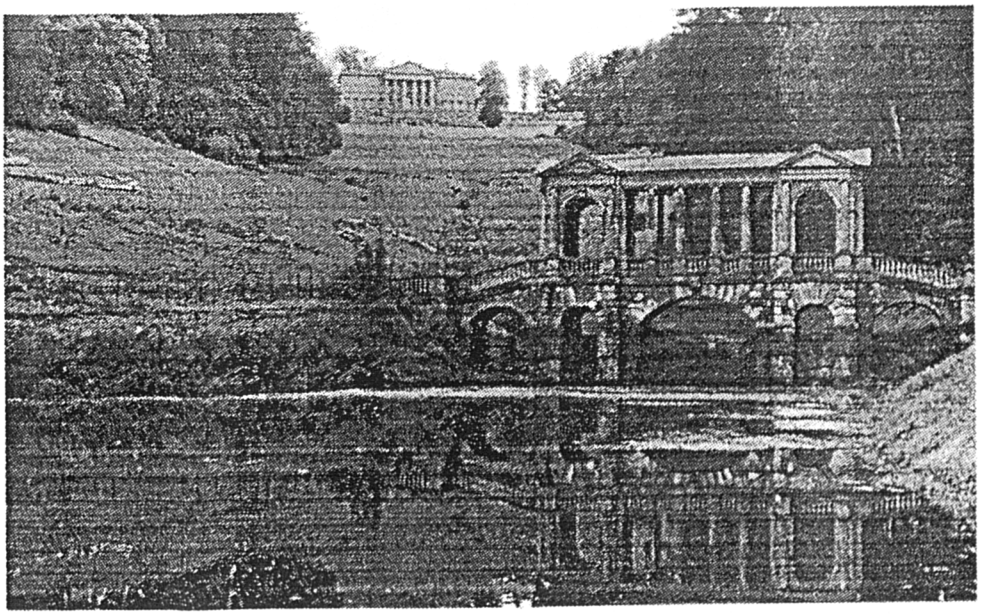

Fig. 61 View of Prior Park mansion with the Palladian brige and lake in foreground.

gardens materialised in 1743 (Fig. 62), Pope helping Allen to plant the woods in 1737 through which ran a path later known as Pope's Walk. Prior Park was described in Defoe's "Tour..."(1748) as follows:

> The Gardens to this Seat consist of two Terraces, and two Slopes, lying Northward before the House, with winding Walks made through a little Coppice opening to the Westward of those Slopes; but all these are adorned with Vases, and other Ornaments, in Stone-work; and the affluence of Water is so great, that it is received at three different Places, after many little agreeable Falls, at the Head of one of which is a Statue of Moses down to the Knees, in an Attitude expressive of the Admiration he must have been in after striking the Rock, and seeing the Water gush of it. The winding Walks were made with great Labour; and, tho' no broader than for two or three to walk abreast, yet in some Places they appear with little Cliffs on one Side, and with small Precipices on the other....[109]

Pope probably had something to do with the creation of the grotto which was identified on the earlier Survey of Allen's estate as the "Gothic Temple in the Woods", a small octagonal structure of rough stone with a pointed thatched roof.[110] Other ornaments were a statue of General Wade, a Palladian Bridge (Fig.

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[109] Daniel Defoe, A Tour Thro' the Whole Island of Great Britain, London, 1748, pp.301- 302.
[110] Peter Martin, op. cit., p. 224.

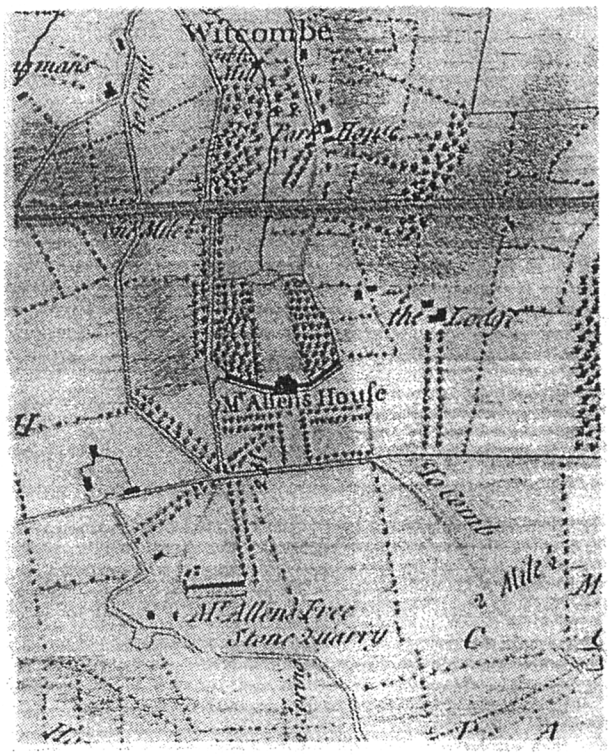

Fig. 62 Detail of Prior Park (Mr. Allen House) from Thomas Thorpe's Actual Survey of the City of Bath.

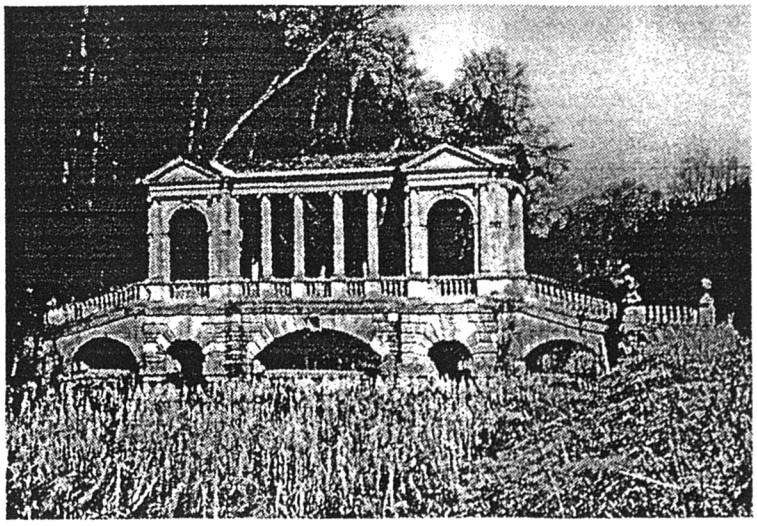

Fig. 63 Prior Park, Palladian bridge.

63) spanning the lake - copy of the famous bridge at Wilton by Roger Morris - and a pair of little two-storey houses designed in Palladian style by John Wood for porter's lodges.[111]

Pope was also involved in the improvements his close intellectual and philosophical friend Henry St. John, first Viscount Bolingbroke, was making at Dawley. This Tory statesman - who reached the summit of political power during the reign of Queen Anne in 1714 and fell from it with the accession of George I- returned from exile in 1723, he purchased Dawley Manor in 1725 in Harlington (Middlesex), just a few miles away from Pope's villa. This seat was renamed by Bolingbroke, Dawley Farm as it was more an ornamented farm or ferme orneé the kind of rural and extensive gardening already defined by Stephen Switzer in 1718[112]. The notion of the utilitarian aspect of landscape gardening, where pleasure was combined with cultivation, was an important theme in English landscaping promoted also by Pope and Addison, who in a Spectator newspaper essay of 1712, suggested that, through adding " frequent Plantations " any landowner " might make a pretty Landskip of his own Possessions " in such a way that " a whole Estate may be thrown into a kind of Garden ". Addison concludes reminding his reader that such actions " may turn as much to the Profit as the Pleasure of the Owner "[113]

It is possible that, at Pope's suggestion Bolingbroke consulted Bridgeman about the gardens but unfortunately we do not know how the scheme actually

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[111] Morris R. Brownell, op. cit., pp.207-213.
[112] Stephen Switzer, An Appendix to Ichonographia Rustica: Containing a Farther Account of Rural and Extensive Gardening, London, 1718.
[113] Joseph Addison, The Spectator, n. 414, 25 June 1712; Robert Williams, "Rural Economy and the Antique in the English Landscape Garden", Journal of Garden History, Vol. 7, n. 1, 1987, pp. 73-96.

appeared.[114] There are no written descriptions, although an approximate reconstruction of what the garden looked like is reported in Peter Martin's book. The map is derived from two other maps, one engraved by John Kniff in 1716 (Fig. 64) before Bolingbroke acquired the estate and the other is a topographical map of Middlesex drawn by Rocque in 1754 (Fig. 65). As we can see from this reconstructed map (Fig.66) Bolingbroke kept some of the formal structures, such as the long avenue (I) and two small rectangular grass plots situated on either side of a small avenue approaching the house (E), while on the southwest (C) he turned the estate into farmland. On the western area he created a bowling green (B) bordered with several rows of trees. He naturalised two orchards (G) (F) and a small canal (D) by planting groves on either side.

In the poem called Dawley Farm[115] published in Fogg's Weekly Journal (No. 128, 26 June 1731) Pope invests the place with all the virtues of a classical villa, seeing agricultural life as a virtuous life and the beautiful Simplicity that appears in the House and Gardens reflecting the good sense and virtuous retirement of his owner:

> See! Emblem of himself, his Villa stand!
> Politely finish'd, regularly Grand!
> Frugal of Ornament, but that the best,
> And all with curious Negligence express'd.

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[114] Peter Martin, op. cit., pp.119-144.
[115] The poem was attributed to Pope by Norman Ault and Brownell claims the coauthorship by Pope and Swift.

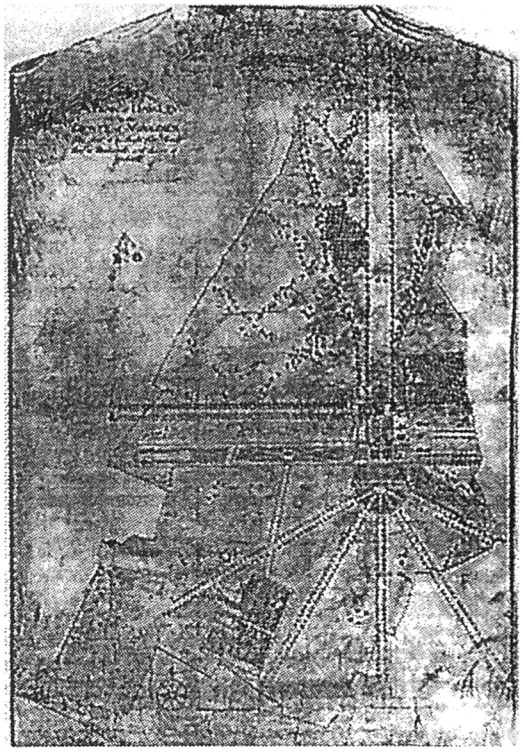

Fig. 64 A Plan of Dawley in the Country of Middlesex, by John Kniff, engraved by Kip, ca. 1710

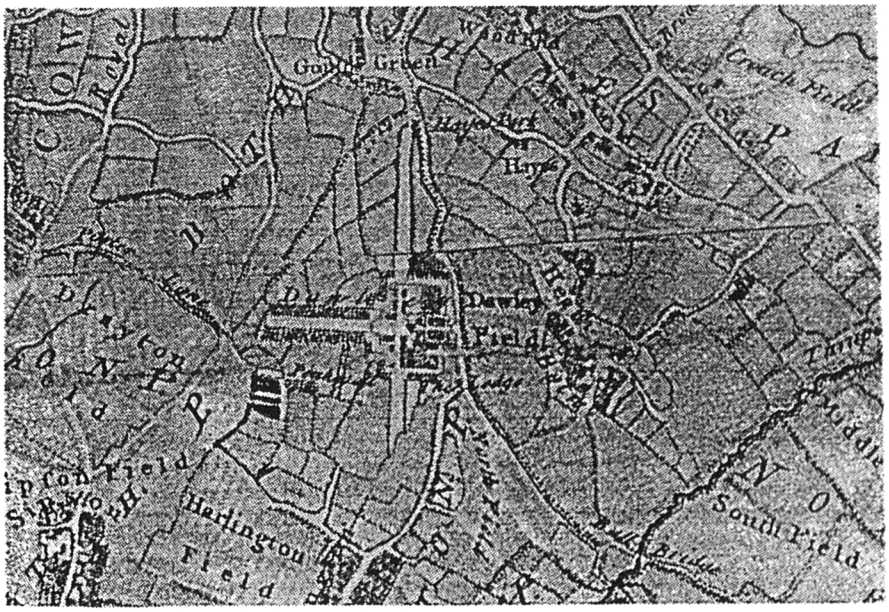

Fig. 65 Detail of Dawley Farm and surrounding area from Rocque's Topographical Map of Middlesex, 1754.

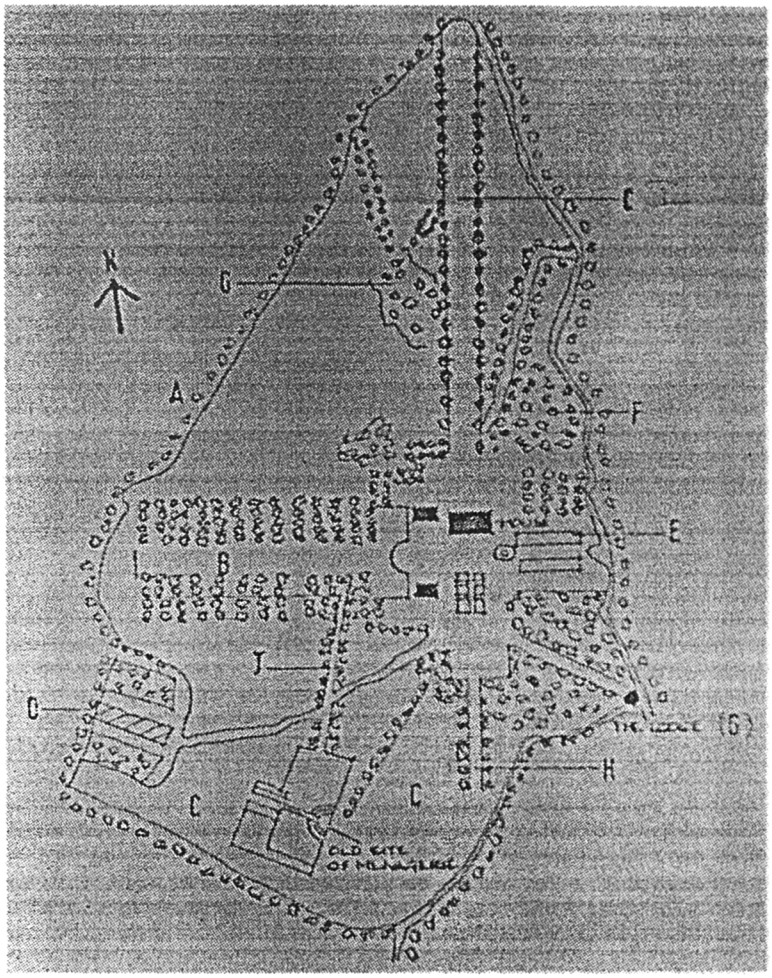

Fig. 66 Conjectural reconstruction of the Dawley Farm landscape after Bolingbroke's alterations. References: A hedgerow, B bowling green, C farmland, D small canal, E grass plots, F orchard, G orchard, H southern avenue, I long avenue, J lime walk, K lodge. Drawn by Ian The.

No gaudy Colours stain the Rural Hall,

Blank Light and Shade discriminate the Wall:

Where thro' the Whole we see his lov'd Design,

To please with Mildness, without Glaring shine;

Himself neglects what must all others charm,

And what he built a Palace calls a Farm....[116]

This seat quickly became the centre of Bolingbroke's political efforts to organise the opposition party and it became well known as the venue for gatherings not only of such politicians as Bathurst and the Pultneys[117] but also of the Scriblerian Wits Arbuthnot, Pope, Swift and Gay.

A further example of Pope's local influence on gardening is his contribution to the garden design of Marble Hill (Middlesex), the Twickenham Villa a mile upstream from Richmond Lodge, near Pope's, which the Prince of Wales built between 1724 and 1728 for his mistress, Henrietta Howard, Countess of Suffolk. The architect of the mansion, Henry Herbert 9th Lord Pembroke, who is to be counted among the British Palladian architects, derived his plan for the villa from Palladio's models and from seeing the master's buildings in Italy during his Grand Tour[118] (Fig.67). He was helped by Roger Morris, the actual builder of the house who executed the drawings and was involved in all

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[116] quoted in Morris R. Brownell, op. cit., p.227.

[117] William Pultney (friend of Pope and Gay), broke with Walpole in 1725, and was dismissed from his job as Secretary of war at court. In 1726 William and his cousin Daniel joined forces with Bolingbroke in the production of the opposition journal called The Craftsman. See Bertrand A. Goldgar, Walpole and the Wits, London, 1976, pp. 26-63.

[118] James Lees-Milne, op. cit., pp. 69-70.

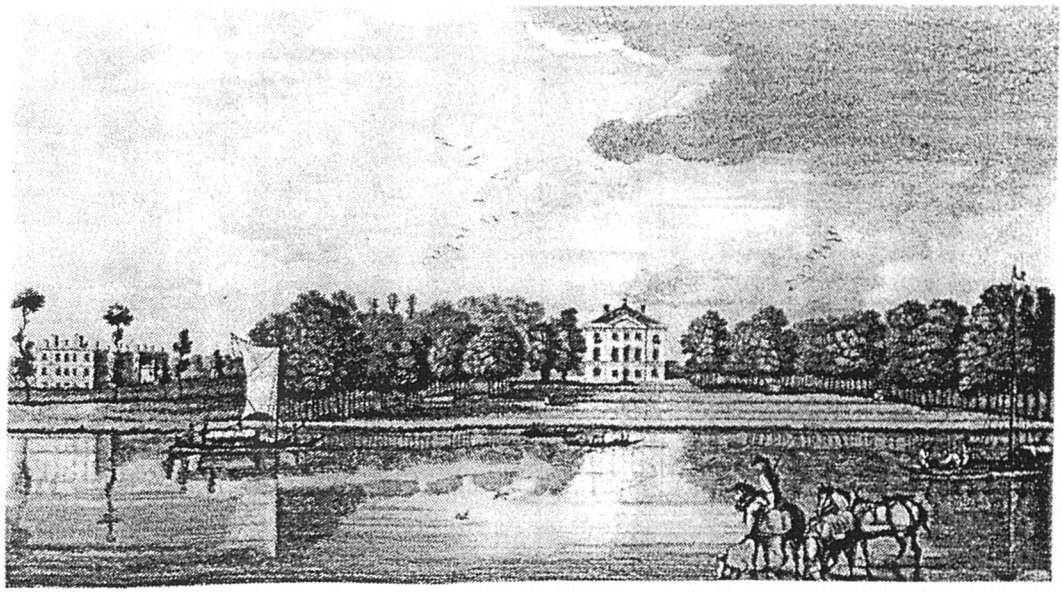

Fig. 67 Marble Hill View of South front from the Thames. Engraving by Heckell and Mason 1749.

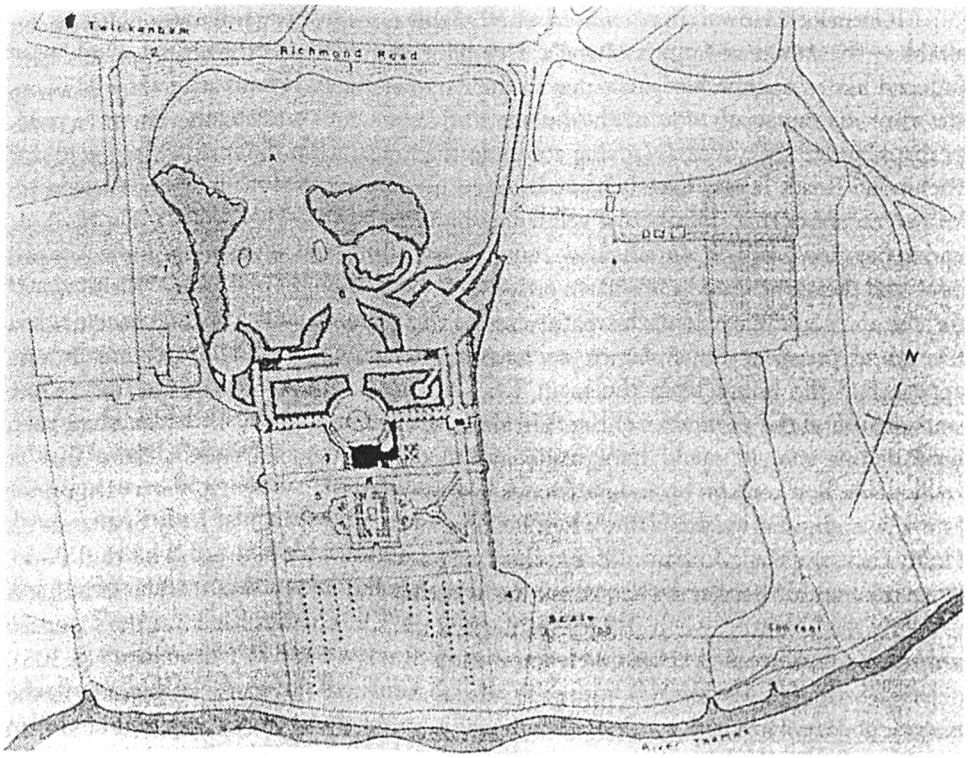

Fig. 68 Marble Hill landscape reconstructed as it might have looked when Pope knew it. References: A the Meadow, 1 drive or path, 2 entrance, 3 the house, 4 widening possibly used for the garden, 5 area of formal gardens.

Pembroke's neo-palladian buildings.[119] Plans for the garden were being executed by September 1724 and together with Pope, Lord Bathurst and Charles Bridgeman took an active part in the garden design. The result was something of a hybrid between formal and picturesque landscape design. In the reconstructed plan of Marble Hill (Fig. 68) we can see how the House severed the land into two areas. It was placed at the top of a gentle slope gradually descending to the river, so that to the North of the house there was a wide open field on flat ground, while to the south one could look down the kitchen garden to the Thames and across the river the fields beyond. On either side of the house the garden contained informal wildernesses and verdures of evergreens cut through with serpentine walks. Like Twickenham, Marble Hill contained a number of formal old-fashioned parts. In addition to its bowling green, there was an L-shape plantation with walks which screened the house from the road to the North.[120] There were grottoes which were probably built around 1724-25 under Pope's influence, fine prospects of the river, and the romantic view of Richmond Hill as the major feature in the distant landscape,[121] as confirmed by the following passage from a 1760 guidebook: " an Ally of flowering Shrubs, which leads with an easy Descent down to a very fine Grotto; there is also a smaller Grotto, from whence there is a fine view of Richmond Hill."[122]

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[119] Pembroke and Morris are credited for the White Lodge in Richmond New Park (1727), Wimbledon House, Surrey (1732), the Palladian Bridge at Wilton (1736) and Castle Hill, Devon (1729). See John Harris, The Palladians, London, 1981.

[120] Peter Martin, op. cit., pp. 145-176.

[121] Ibid.

[122] Henrietta Pye, A Short Account of the Principal Seats and Gardens in and about Richmond and Kew, London, 1760, pp. 41-43.

In the late 1730s, Lord Pembroke landscaped Wilton, which he inherited in 1733 and which had been previously given a formal lay-out by Isaac de Caus in 1633. Colen Campbell's view in Vitruvius Britannicus III records the extent of the garden in 1723 (Fig.69). At this time the outlines of Caus' parterres south of the house remained and beyond these parterres the ground rose slightly and was planted with radiating three-lines avenues probably by Switzer.[123]On the crest of the ridge planted with these radiating avenues stood a triumphal arch which carried an equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius.[124]

At Wilton Pembroke swept away the formal garden replacing the parterres in front of the house with a lawn. He emphasized the serpentine course of the river Nodder created a lake and suppressed the straight avenues replacing them with winding paths and small clearings as recorded by J. Rocque's plan drawn in 1746 (Fig. 70). [125] Pembroke's new arrangements were reported by contemporary visitors, as shows this passage from Defoe's "Tour..":

> The present Earl of Pembroke has made further Improvement with regard to Prospect .. .throwing down the Walls of the Garden, and making instead of them the newly introduced ha-ha Walls, which afford a boundless View all around the Country from every Quarter...[126].

With the assistance of Roger Morris, Pembroke designed the Palladian bridge in 1735-37 (composed of a Ionic colonnade linking two square pedimented

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[123] There is evidence that Switzer worked at Wilton. See Peter Willis, op. cit, p.54.
[124] Christopher Hussey," Gardens of Wilton House", Country Life, vol. 134, Jul.-Sept. 1963, pp. 206-209.
[125] Ibid.
[126] Daniel Defoe, op. cit., pp. 332-6.

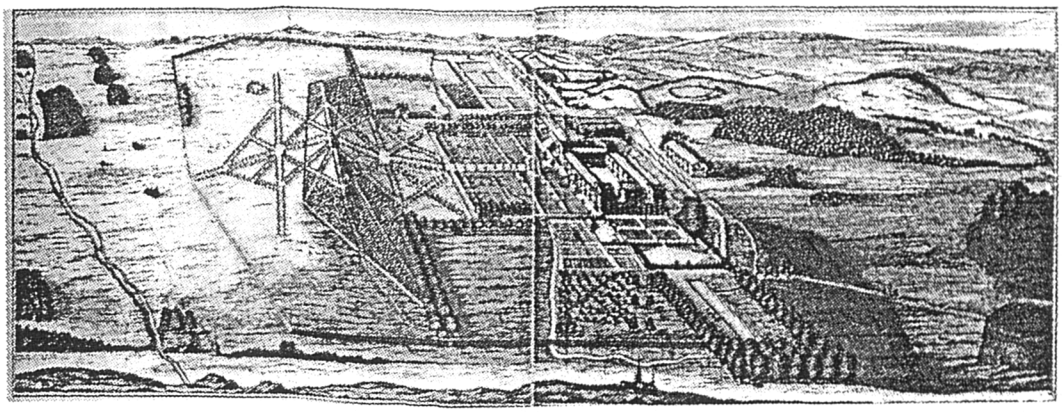

Fig. 69 Wilton. Perspective from the east.Colen Campbell, *Vitruvius Britannicus*, III, 1725.

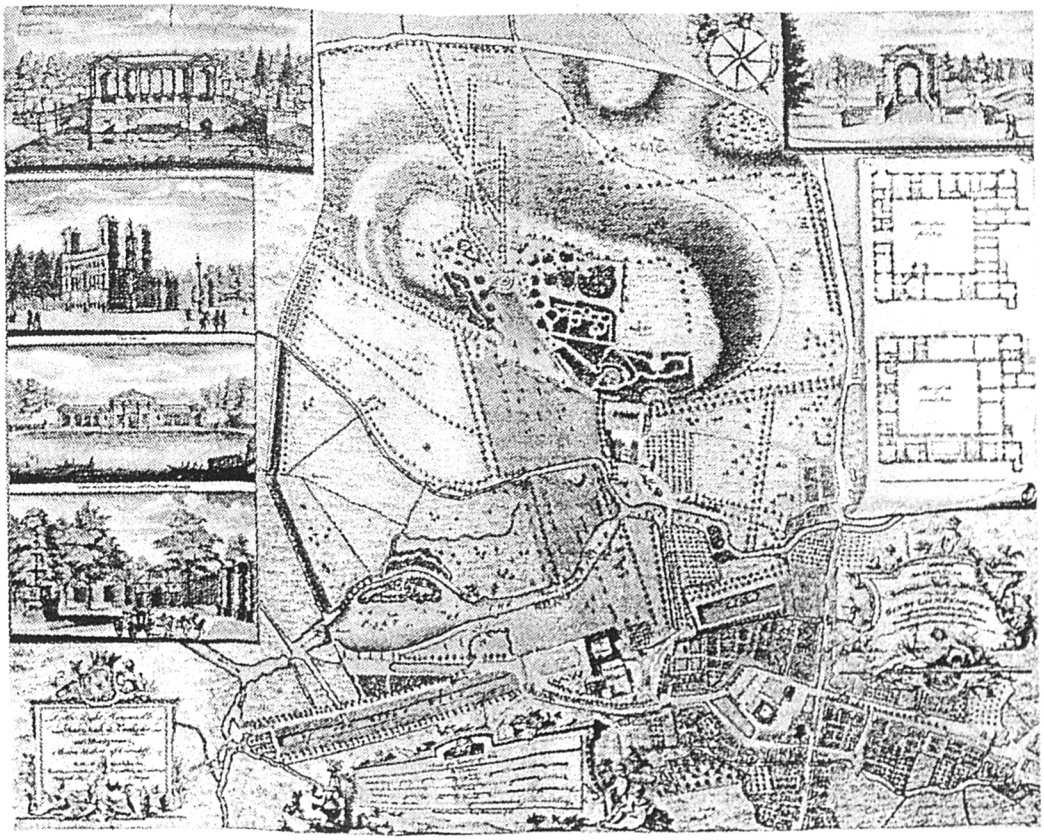

Fig. 70 Wilton. J. Rocque's plan of the house and garden, 1746, with vignettes of the house, the Palladian bridge, the arcade at the east end of the lake, the gates and the porter's lodge.

pavilions). This bridge was inspired by Palladio's rejected design for the Rialto Bridge in Venice[127] and in its turn inspired imitations at Stowe, Prior Park and Hagley, becoming in this way a symbol of contemporary Palladian taste.[128](Fig. 71, 72) Pembroke dismantled also de Caus' grotto (which was set at the southern end of the long central avenue of the garden) and incorporated its inner façade in a new building called the Colonnade, which spanned the river south-east the house. He may have erected other garden buildings at this time. A description of 1759 mentions a "Gothic seat" and relates that Pembroke had planned to build in the gardens " a Stonehenge in miniature ", as " 'twas supposed to have been in its first glory ."[129]This may be so, for Pembroke was interested in archaeology and in 1719 had surveyed Stonehenge, only nine miles from Wilton, with William Stuckley.[130] Pembroke's original gardens underwent substantial alterations in the nineteenth century and many of the southern gardens are now overgrown. Moreover because of the lack of information about this garden it is difficult to judge the extent of Pembroke's personal iconography.

While landscape or natural elements were important in all these gardens they were not central, although, to complicate matters, there was a connected group in which they were. The earliest of these was Castle Howard (Fig.73). Castle Howard grew from the imagination and vision of three men: Charles 3rd

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[127] A. Palladio, Four Books of Architecture, Book III, 1570, pp. 26-7, Isaac Ware transl. London, 1738.
[128] John Bold, Wiltom House and English Palladianism, London, 1988, pp. 80-90.
[129] Passage from the Diaries of Mrs Philip Lybbe Powry, ed. E. J. Climenson, London, 1899, p. 53.
[130] James. Lees-Milne,op. cit., p. 62.

Fig. 71 Wilton. The gardens, showing the south front of the house and the Palladian bridge in an engraving published in 1759.

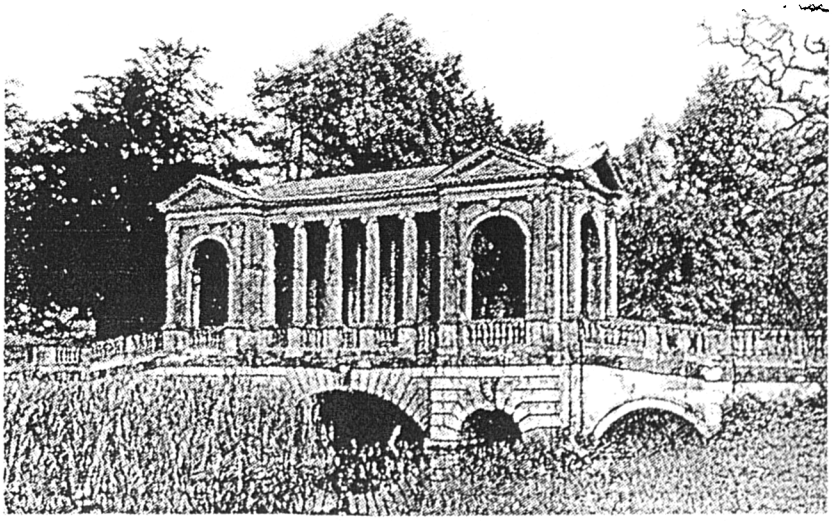

Fig. 72 Palladian bridge at Stowe.

Earl of Carlisle, Sir John Vanbrugh and Nicholas Hawksmoor. The Earl probably met Vanbrugh at the Kit Cat Club. By 1699 Vanbrugh (a playwright) was already consulting Hawksmoor on the practical aspects of designing and constructing a house. As was common practice the design of Castle Howard took shape as it was built. John Dixon Hunt observes that approaching the house one sees the dome floating in the air and it contrives the effect of a classical Temple which, he argues, was", clearly intended by the owner "[131] (Fig.74). While Ronald Paulson maintains that the other Temple of the Four Winds (Fig.75), built by Vanbrugh as garden ornament, is architecturally a variant and functionally a miniature of Castle Howard itself[132]. In fact the Temple, Vanbrugh's last work (1724), is a blatantly Palladian temple for which Vanbrugh had probably used as a model Palladio's villa Rotonda.[133] This is proved not only by the similarity in design (Fig. 76) but also by the way Vanbrugh intended the Temple as a belvedere since like the Villa Rotonda it sits on a promontory from where one can have a view over the nearby countryside. About the Villa Rotonda Palladio wrote that:

> The site is pleasant & as delightful as can be found; because it is upon a small hill of very easy access...as it enjoys from every part most beautiful views, some of which are limited, some more

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[131] John Dixon Hunt, Gardens and the Picturesque, Cambridge, 1992, p. 24.
[132] Ronald Paulson, Emblem and Expression, London, 1979, p. 19.
[133] J.D.Hunt suggests that Vanbrugh had as a model Palladio's reconstruction of the Temple of Fortune at Praeneste. op. cit., 1992, p. 31.

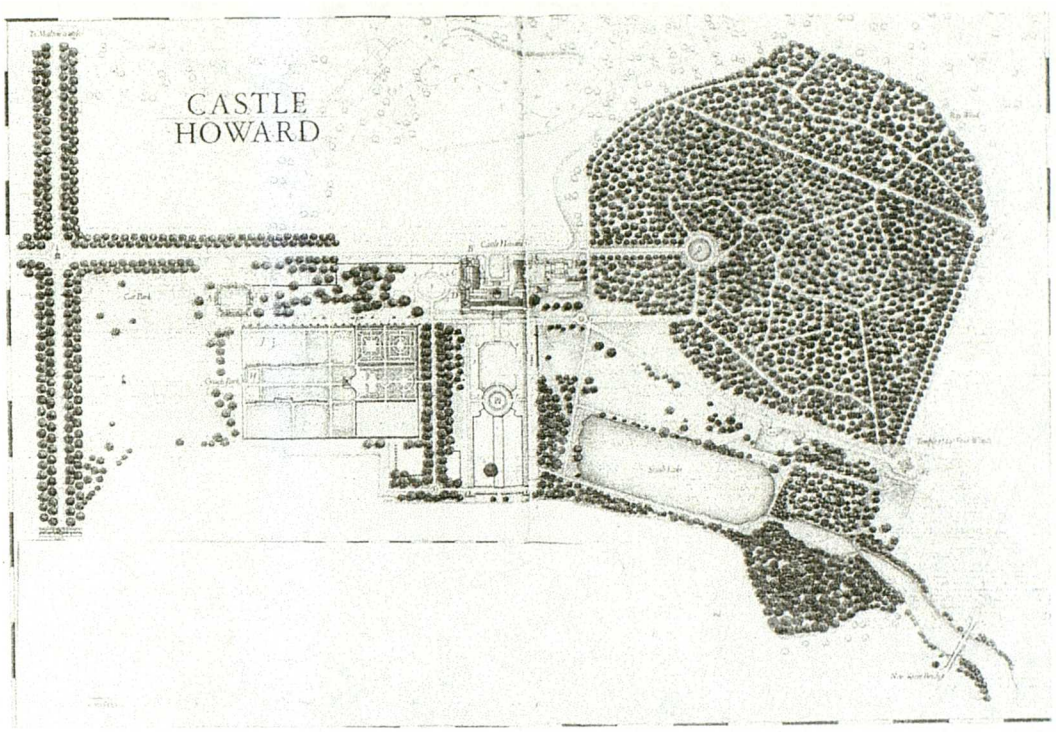

Fig. 73 Castle Howard. Plan of the gardens.

Fig. 74 Castle Howard. View of the House.

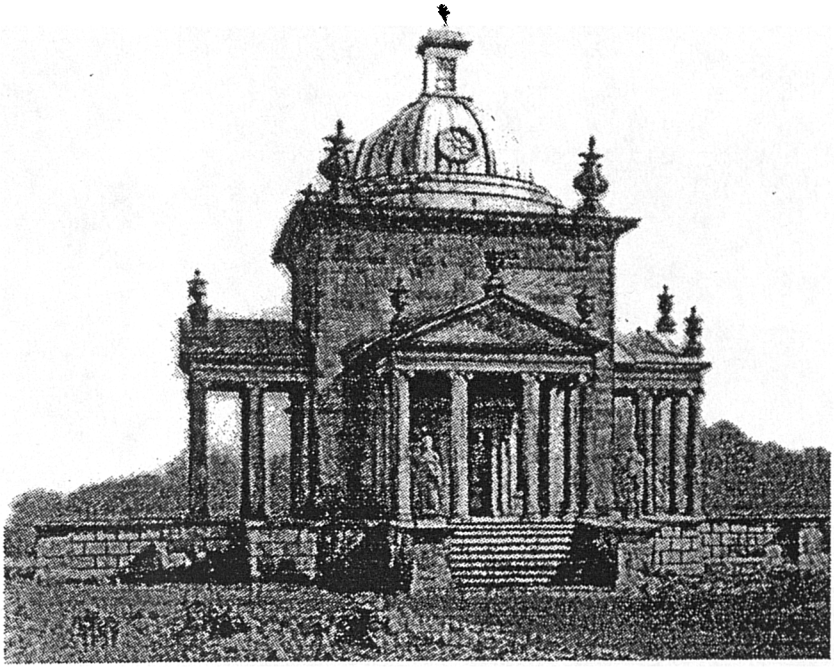

Fig. 75 Castle Howard. Temple of the Four Winds by John Vanbrugh.

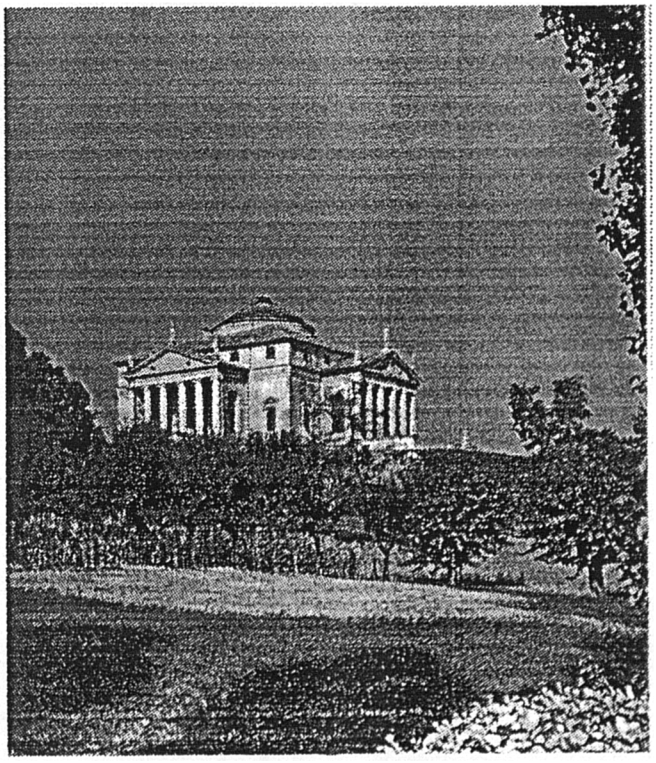

Fig. 76 A. Palladio, Villa Almerico or Rotonda, begun in 1565-66.

> extended, & others that terminate with the horizon. There are loggias made in all the four fronts.[134]

From the Temple of the Four Winds looking eastwards one sees a massive bridge and a circular temple. The bridge is derived from a design in Palladio's book III, the Mausoleum (Fig. 77) designed by Hawksmoor in 1728-9 and began in 1731, is probably based on a combination of Roman tombs and temples and Bramante's Tempietto of S. Pietro Montorio in Rome[135]. The Mausoleum at Castle Howard is the first of many in the eighteenth-century England marking a gradual shift in the tradition of burial from urban and architectural sites to natural landscape since it was built to house the tombs of the 3rd Earl of Carlisle's family. [136] The conception of the Castle Howard Mausoleum can be placed at the heart of early 18th century religious debate (to be discussed later) since it suggests the earl's belief in Deism alluded to by Vanbrugh's words in 1722 when he first raised the idea of a Mausoleum with the earl: it was, he wrote, a building type " practic'd by the most polite peoples before Priestcraft got poor Carcases into their keeping.."[137] Moreover Charles Saumarez-Smith has recently discovered a manuscript written by Carlisle and entitled Essay on God and his prophets, which seems to confirm the rationalist anti-clerical views of the earl.[138]

Beyond the Mausoleum, to the south-east, lies a wood where in 1724 a lake was created. Wandering inside the wood, one encounters a rusticated

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[134] A.Palladio, The Four Books of Architecture, Book II, I.Ware's translation 1738, p.46.
[135] James Stevens Curl, A Celebration of Death, London, 1980, pp. 179-180.
[136] Damie Stillman, "Death defied and honour upheld, the mausoleum in neo-classical England", Art Quarterly, New Series, Vol. 1, 1978, pp. 175-213.
[137] Geoffrey Webb, The Works of Sir John Vanbrugh, Vol. I, The Letters (ordered by date), London, 1986.
[138] Charles Saumarez Smith, The Building of Castle Howard, London, 1991.

Fig. 77 Castle Howard. Mausoleum designed by Hawksmoor.

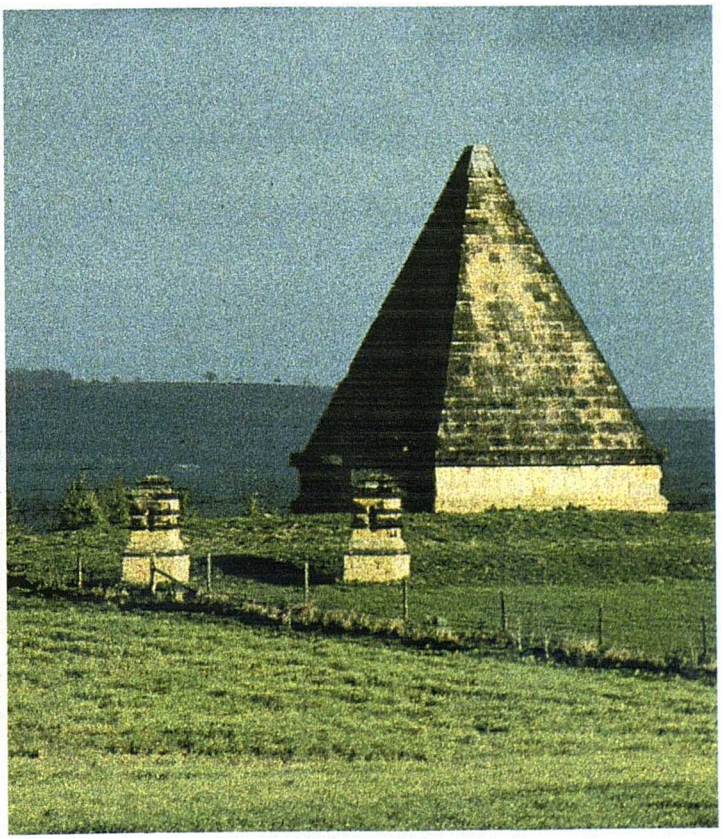

Fig. 78 Castle Howard. Pyramid by Vanbrugh.

pyramid (Fig. 78) on a plinth, which was designed by Hawksmoor in 1728. It was conceived as commemorative monument as it contained a stone bust of Lord William Howard (1563-1640) the founder of the fortunes of the Carlisle's family. In this same garden there are other monuments with a pyramidal form. Vanbrugh built massive bastioned walls south of the house flanking the approach road and constructed an entrance gateway consisting of a massive arch and surmounted by an heavy pyramid (Fig. 79). The gate bears the date 1719. Not far from this gate, marking the intersection of avenue and drive, a one-hundred foot obelisk was raised in 1714.

To the east of the house Ray Wood rises up. The 3rd Earl interlaced its trees with walkways, statues, arbours and fountains, creating what was at that time the universally admired part of Castle Howard:

A Noble Terras lies before the Front,
By which into a Paradise you mount [Ray Wood].
Not greater Beauty boasts th'Idalian Grove,
Tho' that is sacred to the Queen of Love.
Such stately Trees encircle ev'ry view,
As never in Dodanas Forest grew.
Here the smooth Beach and rev'rend Oak entwine,
And from a Temple for the Pow'rs Divine:
So Ages past from ancient Bards we've heard,
When Men the Deity in Groves rever'd.
A Tow'ring Wood superior in its Kind,

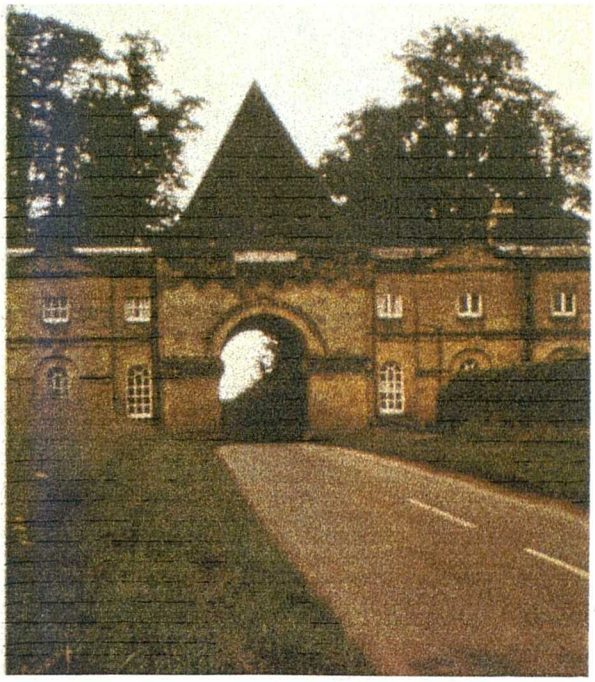

Fig. 79 Castle Howard. Entrance gateway by Vanbrugh.

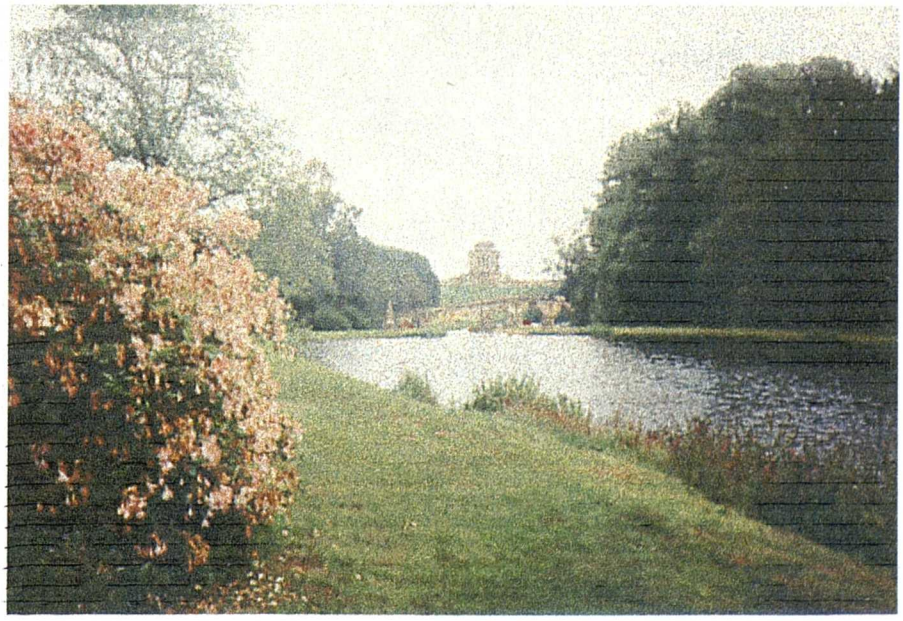

Fig. 80 Castle Howard. View with Mausoleum.

was to the Worship of the God's assign'd

While Plebian Trees, which lowly Shade produce

Were held unworthy of Sacred Use...[139]

The ninety three different type of Oaks that the Earl of Carlisle planted in Ray Wood were not planted accidentally since the Oak tree was the symbol of ancient British culture. Since the woods had Druidic associations, each contemporary visitor would have made this connection as the writer of this poem did. The invocation of Druids and Druidic religion by this time had become a crucial way of recalling Britain's historic indigenous culture[140]. In other gardens we will find Druidic temples or primitive huts which conveyed the same association. Castle Howard is considered an emblematic as well as a pictorial landscape garden since an attempt has been made to reproduce "pictures" in the garden, that is scenes that resemble to paintings of classical landscapes. (Fig. 80)

The most pictorial of all gardens was Stourhead (Fig. 81). It was created by Henry Hoare (1705-1785) a member of a prosperous London banking family who obtained the property in 1741. The estate included a Palladian house designed by Colen Campbell in 1720[141] (Fig.82). About 1744 Hoare commissioned Henry Flitcroft (1697-1769) the Palladian architect who had assisted Burlington at Chiswick, to design the Temple of Flora (originally called

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[139] Anonymous, Castle Howard, c. 1733, published in J. D. Hunt, The Genius of the Place, London, 1975, pp.228-232.
[140] Sam Smiles, The Image of Antiquity, Yale University Press, 1994, pp. 194-218.
[141] See Chapter "The Country House, Neo-Palladinism and Venice".

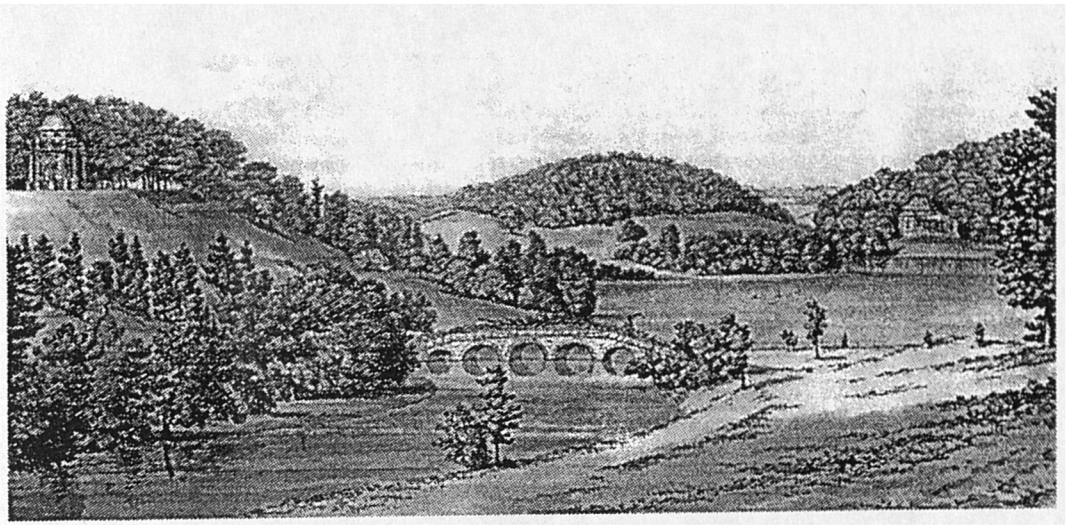

Fig. 81 Stourhead. A View of the lake with bridge, Temple of Apollo, Pantheon. S. H. Grimm, 1790.

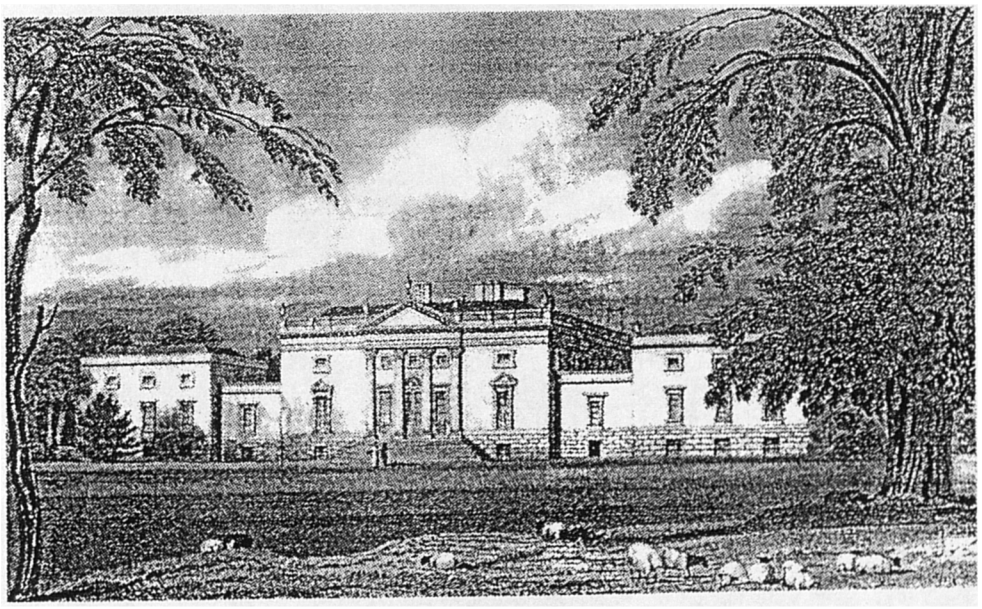

Fig. 82 Stourhead house from the east, published by J. Neale 1822, *Views of the Seats of Noblemen and Gentlemen.*

Temple of Ceres) a small tetrastyle Doric temple (Fig.83). At the entrance just over the door is the inscription "Procul O procul este profani " (Be gone you who are uninitiated Be gone). The words of the Cumaean Sybil in the Aeneid Book VI, as Aeneas was about to descend into the underworld where the story of the founding of Rome was to be revealed to him. These analogies with the Virgilian work have provided a basis for Kenneth Woodbridge's iconographical interpretation of the garden in which the lake becomes symbolically Avernus, the river god in the grotto, Father Tiber of Aeneid VIII and the statue of Hercules in the Pantheon as representative of the site of Rome, for there he was worshipped as a god. The culmination of the circuit in the temple of Apollo would join Aeneas with the Augustan Palatine and the walk around the garden provides a parallel to the journey of Aeneas and the founding of Rome.[142] Malcolm Kelsall questioned this interpretation and explained Stourhead as a moral and religious emblem. His interpretation is based on the juxtaposition of two different kinds of architecture: Classical inside the circuit of the garden with the Temple of Apollo, Flora, the Pantheon and Gothic outside with Alfred's Tower and the Gothic church. Kesall's image of the garden establishes as its central motif ancient natural religion (represented by the Pantheon placed in the pantheistic setting of the garden) and Augustan peace (with the Temple of Apollo associated with the Palatine hill and the loftiest aspirations of the Augustan sun king, and the statue of Hercules with its association to the hero's labours as a compendium of civic virtue), juxtaposed

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[142] Kenneth Woodbridge, "Henry Hoare's Paradise", Art Bulletin, Vol. XLVII, March 1965, pp. 83-116, Landscape and Antiquity: Aspects of English Culture at Stourhead 1718 to 1838, Oxford, 1970.

Fig. 83 Stourhead. View of Temple of Flora and grotto.

to Christian revealed religion (represented by the Gothic Church), and Anglo-British constitution (the Alfred Tower). The iconography of the garden should then invite the visitor to consider the relation between the ancient virtues idealistically portrayed and the virtues of the modern patrician.[143] Such a parallelism can be also found at Stowe.

Together with the above mentioned Temple of Flora, Henry Flitcroft in 1753 built also another temple supported on a rockwork arch beneath which was a statue of a river god. From this arch a small cascade flowed into a geometrically shaped basin.[144] These semiformal features were similar to those found at Chiswick, which also featured small temples sited on the edge of basins.

In the following years Hoare expanded the garden into the present form (Fig. 84). The valley was flooded to form one large lake and a circuit walk was laid out around it. From the house the visitor descended to the garden by way of Stourton village. Passing Stourton church they encountered Bristol Cross, an elaborate Gothic cross from Bristol cathedral which was re-erected at Stourhead in 1765 (Fig.85), then along the eastern bank the Temple of Flora. Reaching the northern end of the lake he crossed it by way of a wooden bridge and turned south along the western shore. Descending he next passed through a grotto, a cavelike structure at the lake's edge (Fig.86). At the far end of the grotto our gaze is taken by the distant figure of the river god, the source of the Stour. Emerging from the grotto a rocky path reveals the Pantheon slowly, but first the visitor reaches the

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[143] Malcolm Kelsall, "The Iconography of Stourhead", Journal of Warburg and Courtauld Institute, Vol. 47, 1983, pp. 133-143.

[144] James Turner, "The Structure of Henry Hoare's Stourhead", Art Bulletin, Vol. LXI, 1979, pp. 68-77.

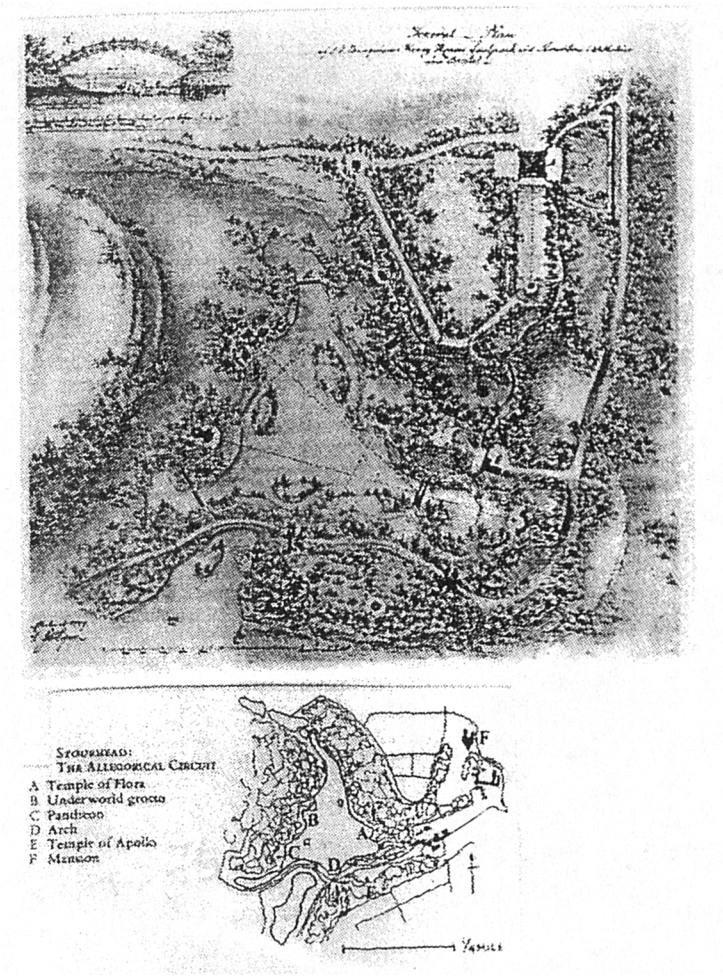

Fig. 84 Stourhead. Plan of Stourhead by F. M. Piper, 1779

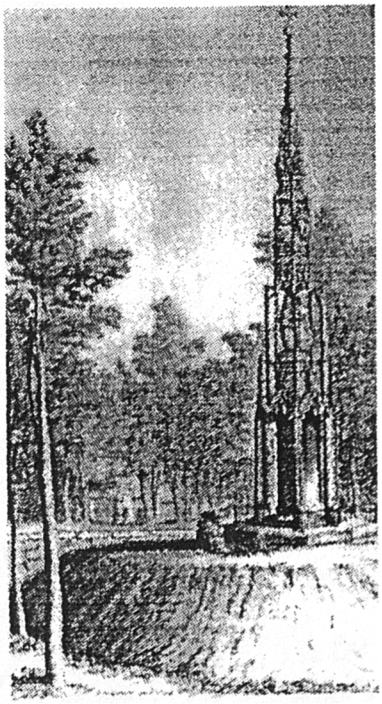

Fig. 85 Stourhead. The Bristol Cross, S. H. Grimm, 1790.

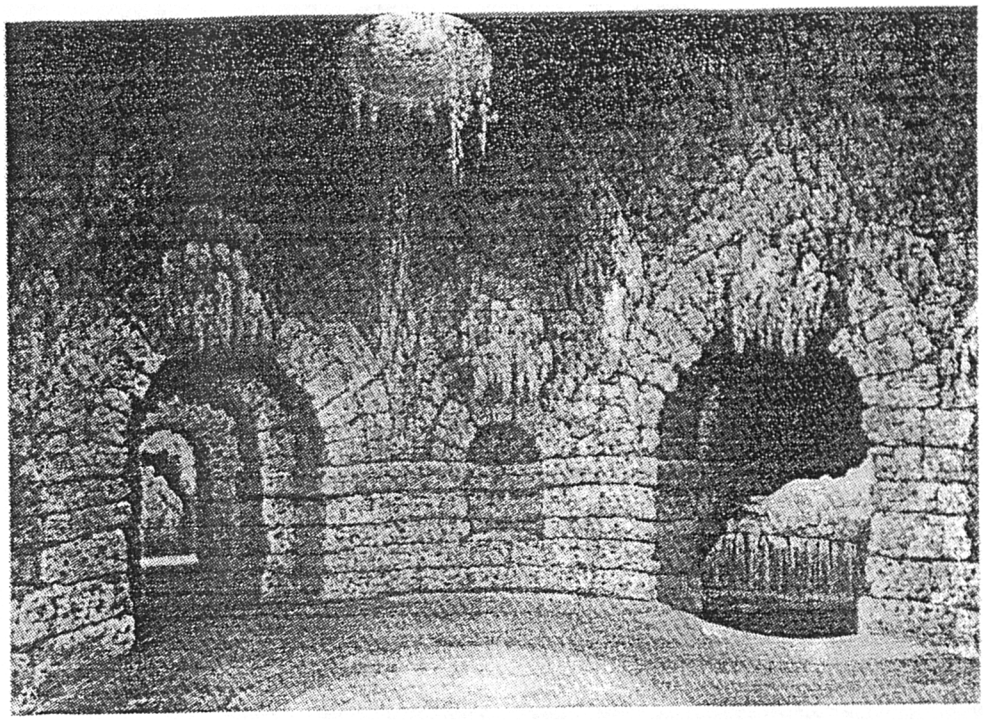

Fig. 86 Stourhead. Francis Nicholson, The Grotto. Watercolour, 1813.

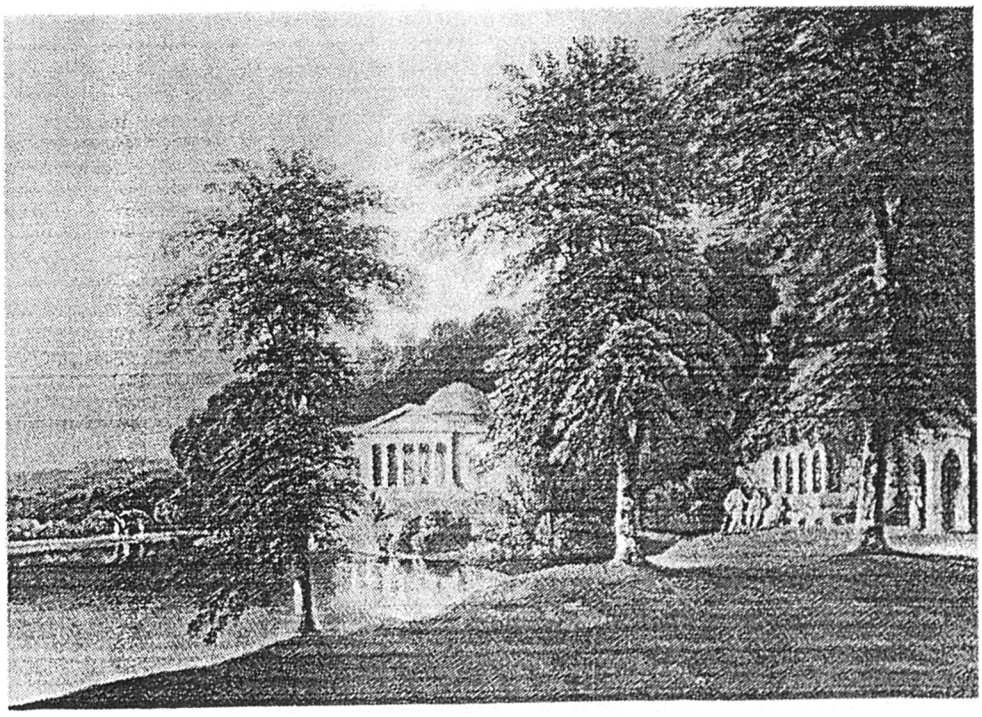

Fig. 87 Stourhead. Francis Nicholson, The Pantheon and Gothic Cottage. Watercolour, 1813.

thatched Gothic cottage (Fig. 87). The Pantheon was designed by Flitcroft in 1753 and completed in 1754 (Fig.88). First called the Temple of Hercules, it is the gardens largest temple and consists of a portico of six Corinthian columns and a domed rotunda. Inside it contains seven statues based on antique models: Flora, Diana, Ceres, Meleager, Isis with the central position is occupied by a statue of Hercules[145]. Finally descending from the Pantheon, the visitor passed through green bowers arcaded like grottoes and rugged cavernous mounts, climbing up to the Temple of Apollo, at the summit of the hill (Fig. 89). This is a circular temple designed by Flitcroft in 1765 and derived from the temple of the sun at Baalbec[146](Fig. 90). Descending the hill the visitor crossed the road by means of a rocky underpass and then over the five arched stone bridge built in 1762 and taken from a Palladian design. The bridge led back to the starting point. The garden contained other building, a Chinese alcove (Fig.91), a Turkish tent (both of them now lost) a Hermitage or Druid Cell which was dismantled in 1814 (Fig.92) an obelisk erected on a rise north of the lake an Alfred tower, a triangular brick structure designed by Flitcroft in 1762 (Fig. 93).

The gardens at Stourhead were composed to resemble classical landscape paintings. Hoare, an avid collector of seventeenth-century paintings admired the classical landscapes of Claude Lorraine and Gaspard Dughet. Woodbridge was the first to point out how the view to the Pantheon on entering the garden is closely

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[145] Michael Charlesworth,"On Meeting Hercules in Stourhead garden", Journal of Garden History, 1989, Vol. 9, n. 2, pp. 71-75. The article asserts the importance of another iconographical element at Stourhead: the myth of Hercules. The choice of Hercules between vice and virtue was an important literary idea in the eighteenth century and was also important in painting.

[146] The Temple of Apollo was also modelled upon the Temple of the Sybil at Tivoli, which Palladio had identified as dedicated to Vesta, the goddess of fire. At this time however (1765) the Temple at Baalbec was better known thanks to Stuart and Revett.

Fig. 88 Stourhead. View of the Pantheon.

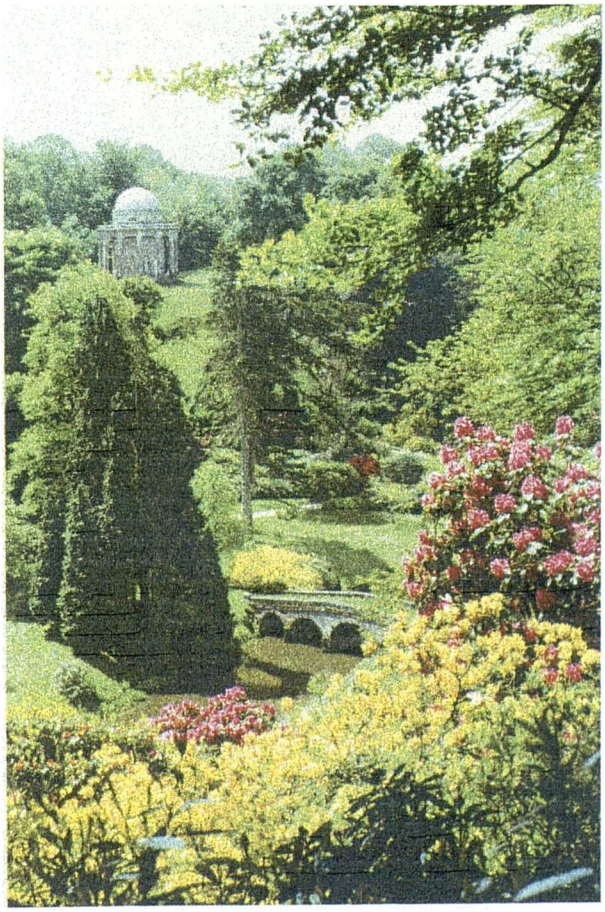

Fig. 89 Stourhead. View of the Temple of Apollo.

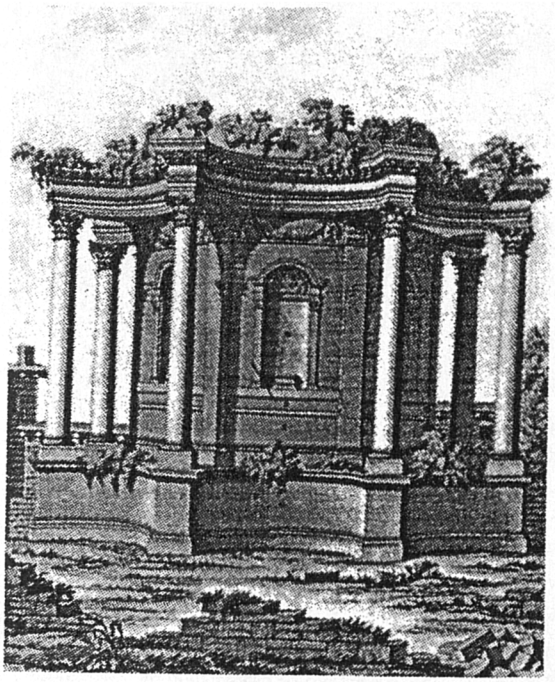

Fig. 90 Engraving of the Temple of Baalbec from Wood's *Ruins of Baalbec*, 1757.

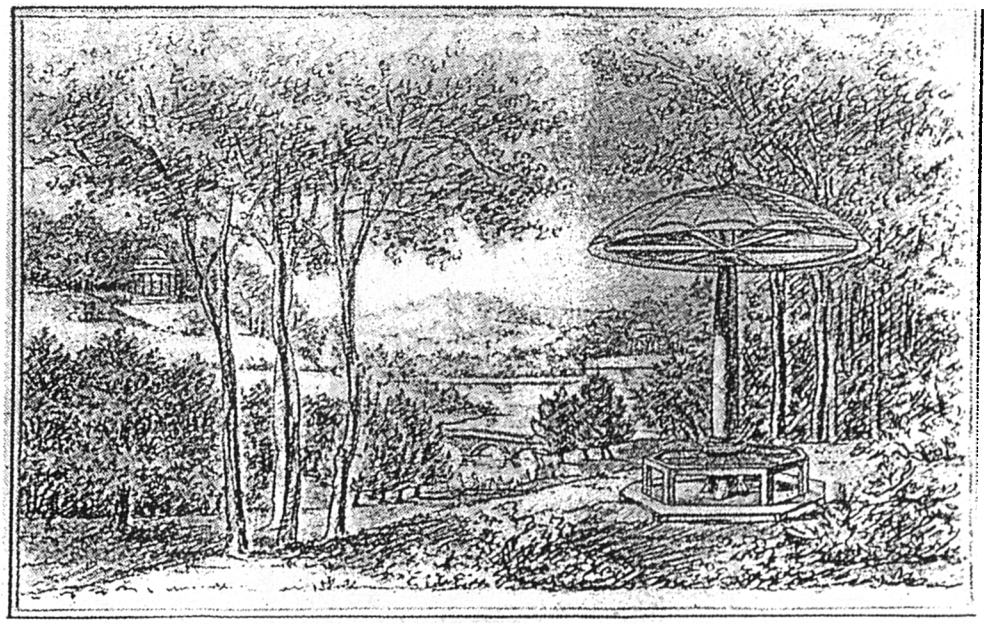

Fig. 91 Stourhead. View of the Chinese Umbrella, F. M. Piper, 1779.

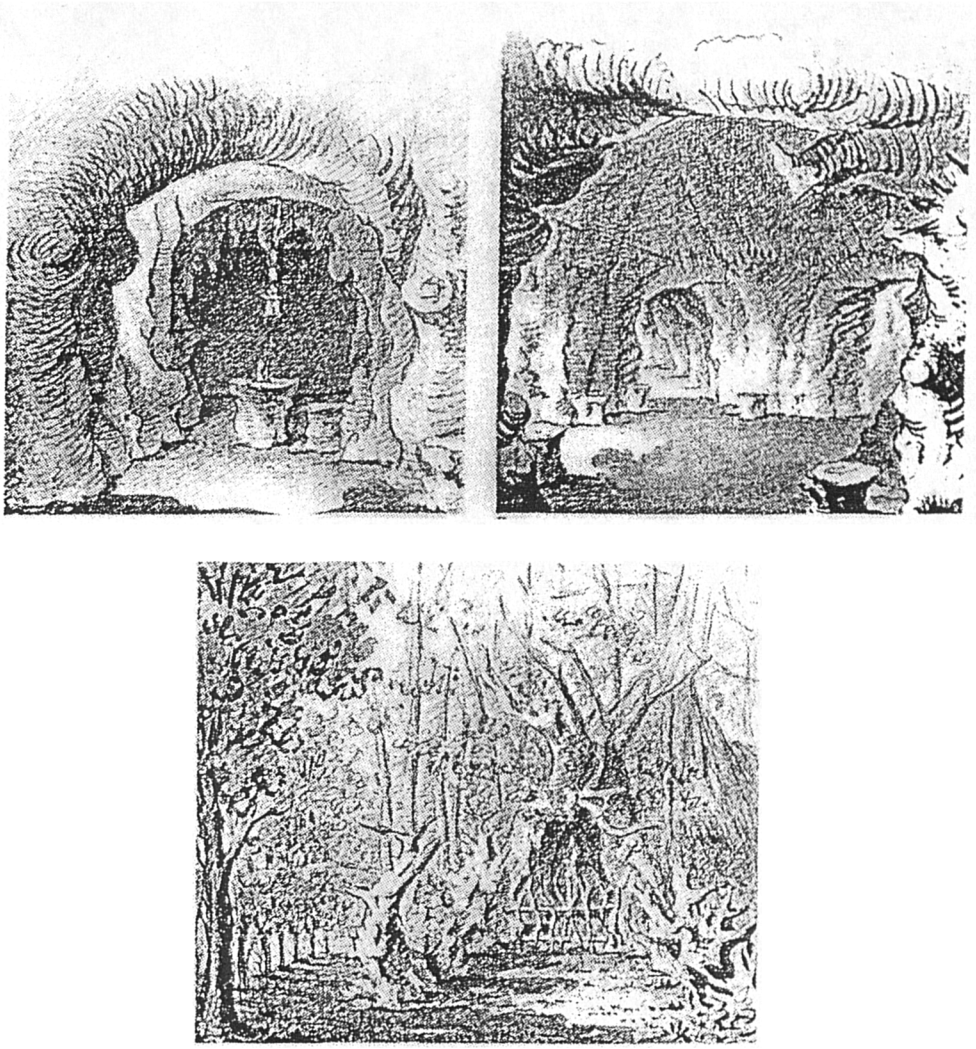

Fig. 92 Sketches of the Druid's Cell and the Hermitage, F. M. Piper, 1779.

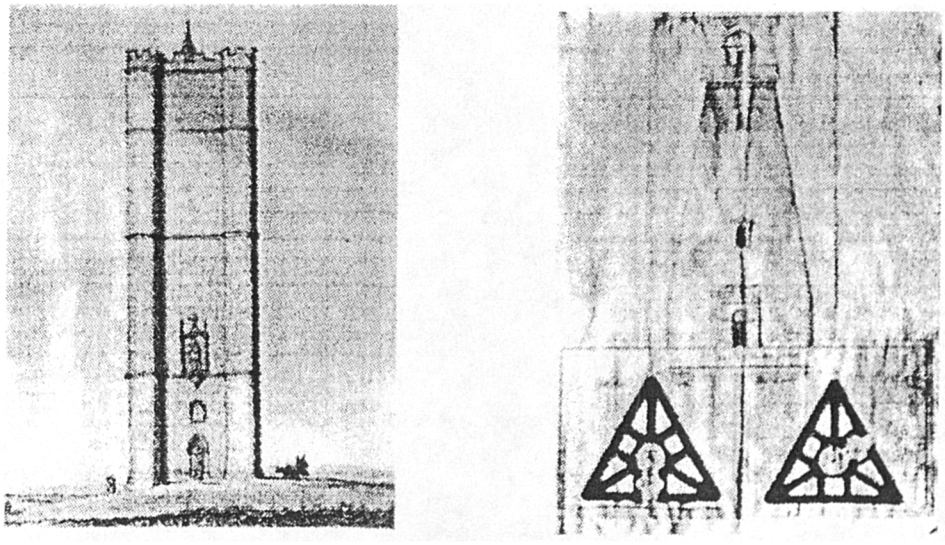

Fig. 93 Alfred's Tower, drawing 1784.

related to Claude's painting of Aeneas at Delos (Fig.94). While in describing improvements in the garden to his daughter Susanna in 1762, Hoare mentioned Gaspard:

> when you stand at the Pantheon the Water will be seen thro the Arches [of the stone bridge] & it will look as if the River came down the Village &c that this was the Village Bridge for publick use, the View of the Bridge, Village & Church altogether will be a Charmg Gaspd picture at the end of the Water.[147]

There is no doubt that Hoare believed with Pope that the principles of plantation are derived from the art of painting. Spence records Hoare's remark that:

> The green should be arranged together in large masses as the shades are in painting: to contrast dark masses with light ones and to relieve each dark mass itself with little sprinklings of lighter greens here and there ....[148]

Evidence that, by the middle of the eighteenth century, the pictorial aspect was assuming overriding importance in garden design, is provided by The Leasowes, near Halesowen, in Worcestershire (Fig. 95).

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[147] Letter dated 1762, quoted in Kenneth Woodbridge, op. cit. 1970, p. 53.
[148] Ibid., p. 51.

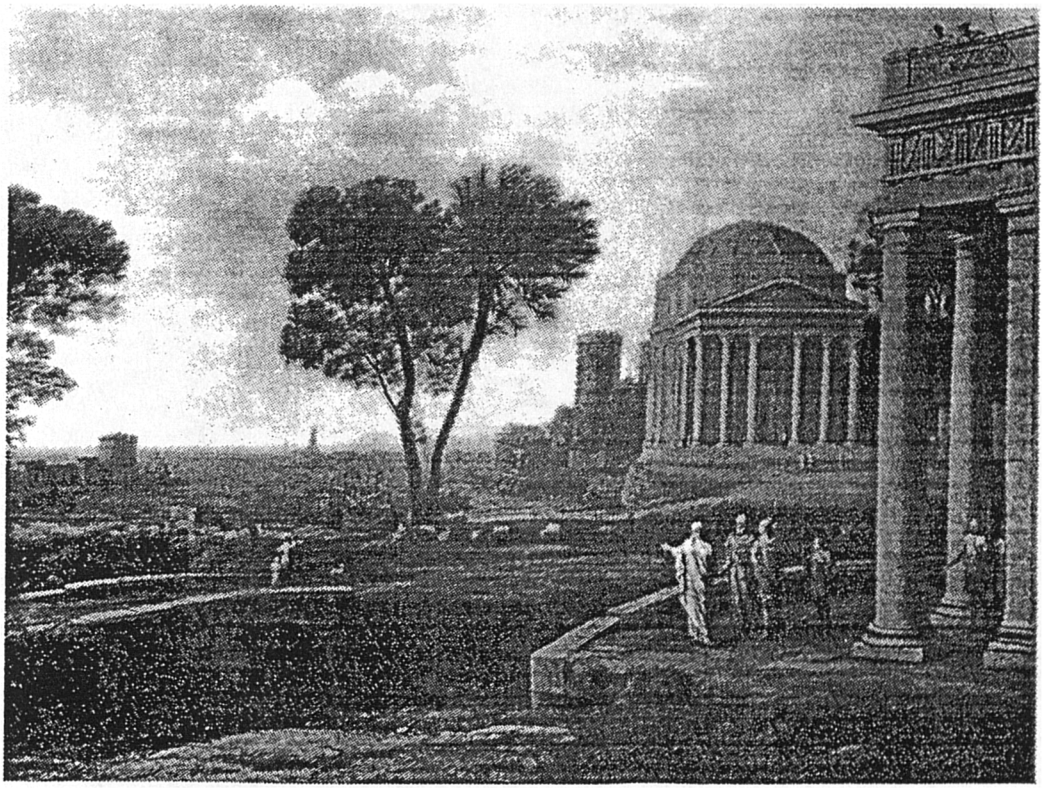

Fig. 94 Claude Lorraine, Aeneas at Delos, National Gallery, London.

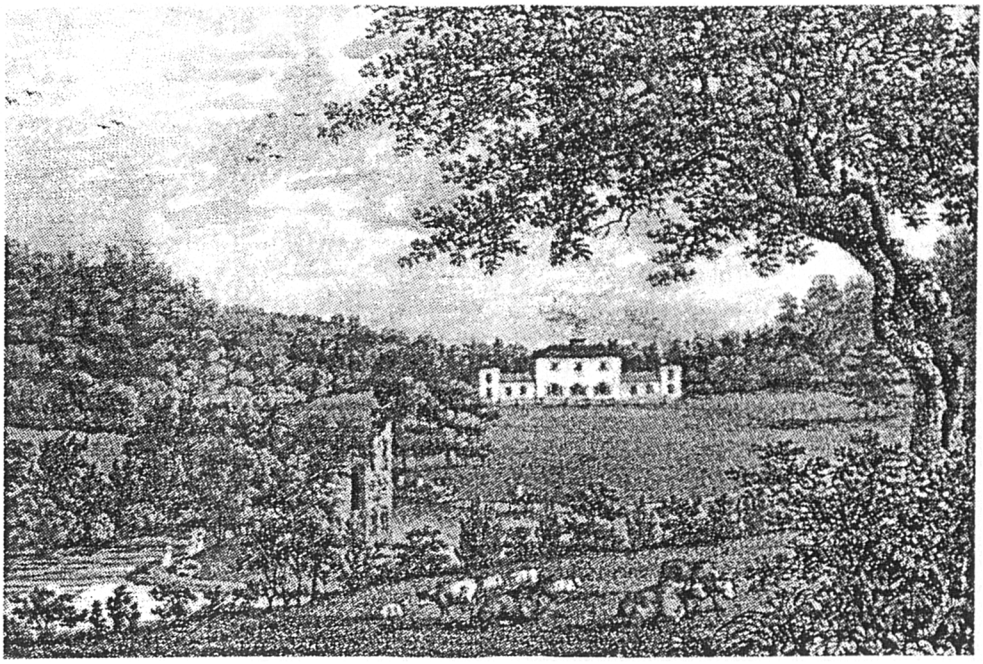

Fig. 95 The Leasowes. Engraving by B. T. Pouncy, 1788.

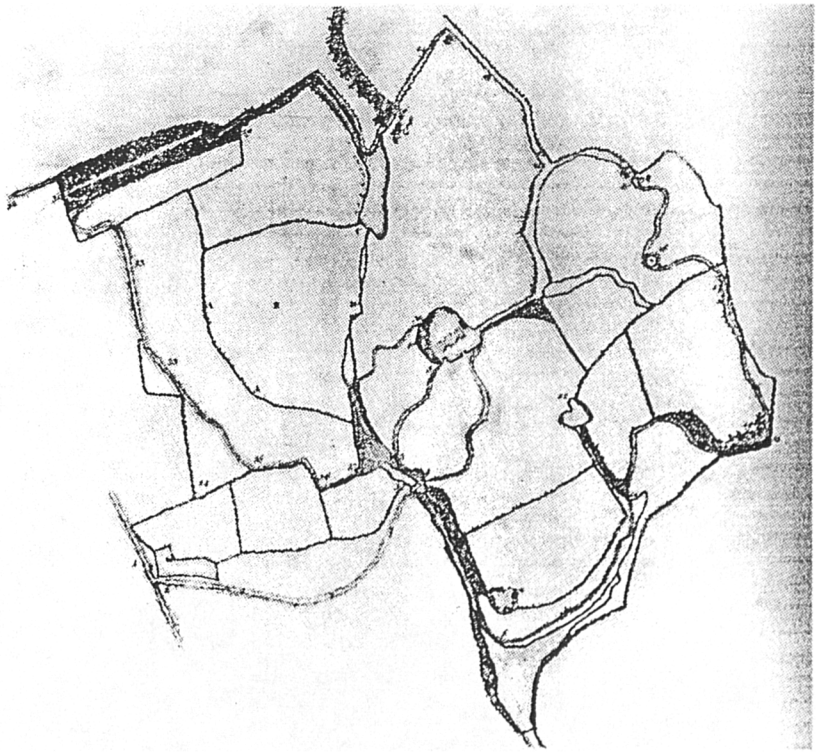

Fig. 96 Plan of Leasowes, 1764.

This was the estate of the poet William Shenstone (1714-1763). He had inherited the property in 1724 but did not begin to transform it into a landscape garden until 1745, following Southcote (Woburn Farm) and Bolingbroke (Dawley Farm) in creating a ferme orneé or ornamented farm. Shenstone encircled the open farmland with a winding path leaving the fields intact (Fig.96). In secluded areas around the path he planted trees to form small grove but he left the path open as it crossed high ground, so that the visitor could enjoy the magnificent views to their fullest extent. He channelled the existing streams into small ponds and cascades and erected simple garden seats with inscriptions: rustic seats and benches, root-houses, wooden or stone urns. Shenstone's lack of money had a fundamental bearing on what The Leasowes became, and there were few buildings in the garden apart from the house and the Priory Gate, such as a sham Gothic ruin built in 1749, which he called "Hermit seat"[149] (Fig.97).

The first large undertaking in the garden was the creation of Virgil's Grove (Fig.98), a small wooded valley, near the house where he planned to erect a little obelisk inscribed to his favourite poet. Other seats and monuments were dedicated to Shenstone's friends. A bower (actually a large roothouse) was dedicated to Robert Dodsley, Shenstone's publisher and author of the Description of The Leasowes (1764). In this work Dodsley illustrates how Shenstone applied the principle of picturesque design and the poet's skill in planning walks and views: " when a building or other object, has been once viewed from its proper point, the foot should never travel to it by the same path, which the eye has

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[149] John Riely, "Shenstone's Walks, The Genesis of The Leasowes", Apollo, n. 110, 1979, pp. 202-209.

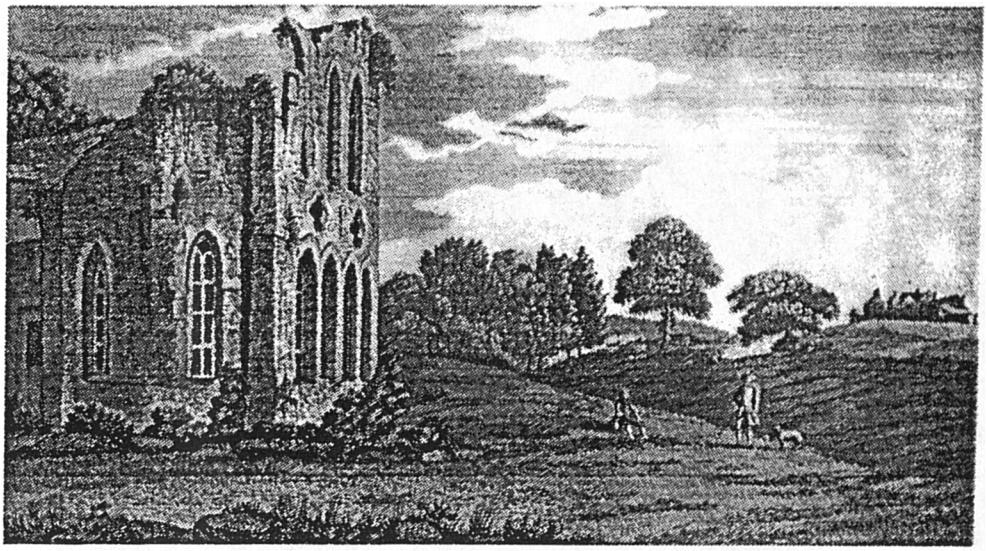

Fig. 97 The Leasowes.. View of the gothic ruin. Engraving by Jenkins c. 1779.

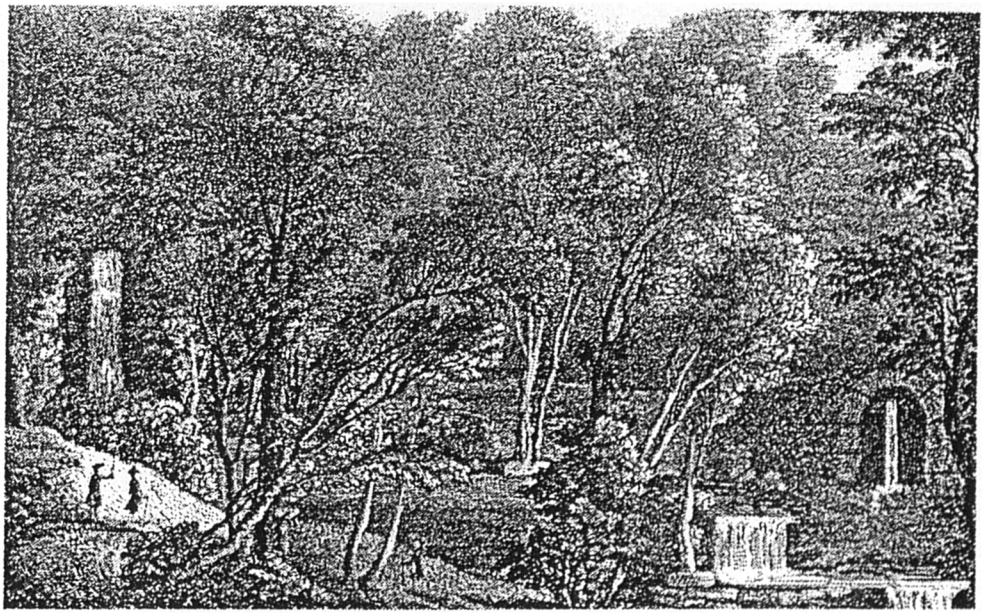

Fig. 98 Tourist at the Leasowes enjoying the scene in Virgil's Grove. Engraving after Thomas Smith of Derby, 1748.

travelled over before ".[150] Shenstone erected also one seat inscribed to Joseph Spence and another to Lord Lyttelton. After James Thomson visited The Leasowes in 1746, Shenstone placed a wooden seat in Virgil's Grove with an inscription celebrating Thomson's genius. On Thomson's death in August 1748, Shenstone decided to erect an urn to his memory in the Virgil's Grove. Shenstone was aware of the fashion for laying out a garden according to painterly precepts. He emphasized, like his predecessors, the notion of variety and contrast in the garden, the use of perspective principles borrowed from the art of landscape painting and the vision of a garden as a moral place, where moral sentences (like those he inscribed in urns and seats), should invite the visitor to contemplate a virtuous life.

[150] Robert Dodsley, Description of the Leasowes, pp. 348-49, published with the Works in Verse and Prose of William Shenstone, London, 1764.

Part One

The Origins of the Idea of Irregularity in Garden Design and the Contribution of China

Natural Science and Natural Religion

As we have seen, the early Georgian landscape gardens can in part be considered as a reaction to the formal gardens of the seventeenth century. In the seventeenth century the natural forms of the English garden were subordinated to a strictly symmetrical plan. Gardens were divided into squares or rectangular beds called parterres, arranged in regular geometric order. Gardens were often embellished with statuary, fountains, and shrubbery cut into cones, balls, pyramids, or other shapes. These formal gardens were generally derived from French or Dutch prototypes. While the Georgian landscape garden reflects a changed attitude towards nature, which values its "beautiful irregularity". This new view of nature was also consequent upon the eighteenth-century intellectual climate.

The landscape garden was conceived in England during that period which is called the European Enlightenment and which extended roughly from the middle of the seventeenth century through to the end of the eighteenth. The term "Enlightenment", implies a distrust of tradition, authority and public opinion, and a strong belief in progress and the validity of the human mind. Sir Isaac Newton (1642-1727) mathematician, physicist and discoverer of the Law of Gravitation, clarified to his contemporaries the workings of the planetary system. The simplicity of a single law which appeared to explain the operation of every kind of earthly and celestial movement was a triumphant example of the possibilities of the new learning. Human reason could for the first time in the history of man

reveal the mechanism of the natural world in which he had lived so long like a fearful child.[1] Alexander Pope's famous epitaph encapsulates the new spirit of this generation:

> Nature and Nature's laws lay hid in night:
> God said, Let Newton be! And all was light![2]

The scientific movement fostered a climate of opinion in which supernatural and occult explanations of natural phenomena ceased to satisfy and the Universe came more and more to be regarded as a Great Machine, working by rigidly determined laws of material causation.

Up until the mid-seventeenth century explanations for natural phenomena had relied upon scholastic and Aristotelian notions of matter in motion. Bodies moved in a filled Universe because of tendencies inherent in their God-given nature. This new mechanical model of the natural world also brought about a changed attitude towards Nature. In the older magical view of nature upon which rested the sciences of astrology and alchemy, the movements of planets or earthquakes and natural disorders were interpreted as being portents of future political upheavals or moral disorder. The physical world was considered to have shared the consequences of the fall of man and to have become the abode of evil spirits. Nature had degenerated from a former Golden Age and the greatest

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[1] S. C. Brown, Philosophers of the Enlightenment, Brighton 1979, pp. 1-25; Mell Braun Palmer, Man, God and Nature in the Enlightenment, Woodbridge, Suffolk, 1988.
[2] quoted in Basil Willey, The Eighteenth Century Background, London , 1986, p. 5.

preoccupation of contemporary man was by the study of the ancients to move back towards the kind of society which the latter were supposed to have known.

The new science revealed that everywhere there was design, order, and law. God created the world as a perfect machine and He had given each man sufficient reason to learn about Him. John Locke, the greatest exponent of the British empiricist tradition, stated in his famous work Essay Concerning Human Understanding :

> Reason is natural Revelation, whereby the Father of Light, and fountain of all knowledge, communicates to mankind that portion of truth which has laid within the reach of their natural faculties.[3]

Locke believed in private revelation, in the perception of truth through the light of reason. God could be reached through Reason as well as Nature. The laws of God and Nature were inscribed upon man's heart. He had only to look for them within himself with the help of his reason and the contemplation of Nature which offered him all that was necessary for salvation.[4]

John Locke is a central figure in this period. He appeared to have demonstrated that all knowledge was derived from and was dependent upon the physical world. He resurrected the old comparison of the mind to a "tabula rasa".

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[3] John Locke, Essay Concerning Human Understanding, London, 1690, bk. IV, 19, sect.4.
[4] G. A. J. Rogers, Locke's Philosophy, Oxford, 1994, pp. 50-73; Jules David Law, The Rhetoric of Empiricism ,Language and Perception from Locke to I. A. Richards, Cornell University Press, 1993, pp. 51-92.

He was above all an empiricist: man acquires knowledge by his sensations upon which his reflection plays.[5]

Nature was thus considered as a sufficient explanation or cause for the existence and workings of man and his physical environment. God did not create from nothing: Nature simply is and everyone is part of this great All. As Pope maintains in his Essay on Man (1733):

> All are but Part of one stupendous Whole,
> whose body Nature is, and God the Soul.[6]

Within this intellectual environment the corollary to scientific enlightenment was the development, in religion, of Deism.

Deists rejected the need for revelation and believed only in the "Book of Nature"; that is, in Creation as God's handiwork and thus a revelation of Himself. They broadly stated that, everything is at least potentially accessible to human understanding, even divine revelation is understandable through nature, and if so, nothing is intrinsically mysterious. They hated priests and priestcraft and tried to substitute natural religion and pagan morality for Christian doctrine. Among the best known deists of this time there were Anthony Collins , John Toland and Matthew Tindal. Anthony Collins wrote in 1713 A Discourse of Free Thinking, where he maintains that everybody should have the freedom to enquire into

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[5] Ibid.
[6] Alexander Pope, Essay on Man, London, 1733, on: The poems of Alexander Pope, edited by John Butt, London 1963, ll. 281-284.

religious questions because priests of all castes are unreliable[7]; Matthew Tindal wrote Christianity as old as Creation or the Gospel a Republication of the Religion of Nature (1730) where he stated that Miracles and revelations to the extent that they are authentic merely confirm what God has revealed to the reason;[8] John Toland wrote Christianity not Mysterious (1696) where he intended to reduce religion to its rational basis. He wanted to prove that there is nothing mysterious or above reason in Christianity.[9]

The Earl of Shaftesbury, who is a significant figure in the intellectual climate which created these gardens, was also anticlerical in the deist way. He ridiculed supernatural tales and above all developed an ethical system that dispensed entirely with religious sanctions. In his main work Characteristics of Manners, Opinions, Times (1711), Shaftesbury asserted that Nature is a manifestation of a beneficent Deity and that the contemplation of Nature is bound to lead to virtue, happiness and right thinking.[10.] According to him, Nature is endowed with moral power which is reflected in the moral nature of man (the moral sense) as he is part of the divine order of the Universe. Even a wild irregular landscape is a reflection of this divinity and part of an ordered Harmony. Pope, well summarized these ideas in his Essay of Man (1733) :

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[7] Peter Gay, Deism: An Anthology, Princeton, 1968, pp. 78-101.
[8] Ibid., pp.102-121.
[9] Ibid., pp. 52-77.
[10] Lawrence E. Klein , Shaftesbury and the Culture of Politness, Cambridge, 1994, pp. 27-69. Dorinda Outram, The Enlightenment, Cambridge 1995, pp. 14-31.

> All Nature is but Art unknown to thee,
>
> All chance direction, which thou can'st not see,
>
> All discord harmony not understood,
>
> All partial evil, universal good...[11]

But in order to understand the divine harmony of Nature, Shaftesbury affirmed that man has to achieve the Harmony of the soul by trying to avoid all deformations of it caused by "passions". That is he had to keep a moral sense and become a wise balanced man. To this regard he wrote:

> Nothing but ill Humour can bring a Man to think seriously that the World is governed by any devilish or malicious Power ..
>
> We must , not only be in ordinary good Humour, but in the best of Humours and in the sweetest kindest Disposition of our Lives to understand well what true Goodness is...[12]

From his theory of Nature and Moral sense, Shaftesbury developed his aesthetical ideas. He found a correspondence between the structure of the soul and the harmony of the object. The form is a reflection of the "beautiful soul." and all forms can be beautiful as long as they mirror a balanced soul.[13] The process of creation acquires in this way a didactic function:

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[11] A. Pope, op. cit, 1733, ll. 281-284.
[12] Anthony Ashley Cooper, Earl of Shaftesbury, A Letter concerning Enthusiasm, in Characteristics of Manners, Opinions, Times, London, 1724, pp. 22-23, 33.
[13] David. H. Solkin, Painting for Money, London 1993, pp. 3-26.

> it is impossible we can advance the least in any Relish or Taste of outward Symmetry and order, without acknowledging that the proportionate and regular State, is the truely natural in every object.[14]

He expanded on this later in his text:

> ...And thus the sense of inward Numbers, the Knowledge and Practice of the Social Virtues, and the Familiarity and Favour of the moral Graces are essential to the character of a deserving artist...thus are Arts and Virtues mutually Friends....[15]

Although Shaftesbury liked to speak about the harmonious external world, the internal world seemed to him the more important. He and his followers found an evidence of divinely established order both inside and outside man and it was in the order within that they sought immediate relationship with the divine principle. In this way Shaftesbury owed much to the Neo-Platonic thought and as such he belongs to that eminent intellectual tradition whose origin dates back to seventeenth century rationalism represented by the Cambridge Platonists. It was the Neo-platonic school of Cambridge which helped in various ways to focus men's attention on the demands of rational theology. The Cambridge Platonists,

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[14] A.A. Cooper, Earl of Shaftesbury, op. cit., p.180.
[15] Ibid.,p 338.

Ralph Cudworth (1617-1688), Benjamin Whichote (1609-1687), Henry More (1614-1687) maintained that it was possible to discover by the pious use of reason which Christian beliefs were essential and which mere accretions. According to them, the truths of morality were grasped by reason. Moral ideas were dependent on man's freewill and everybody had within himself a moral guide both more complete and more reliable than the authority of either Church or Scripture. Morality was regarded as an integral law of man's being and not as an arbitrary imposition from outside. The Cambridge Platonists stood aside from the main current of contemporary empiricist thought which led to an increasing veneration of mechanical facts to the detriment of spirituality. They were all, in some degree, mystics. They were knowledgeable about the obscure passages of the Neo-Platonists and something of the same spirit is reflected in their works. Their writings prove both their familiarity with the literature of mysticism and their ability to examine it with critical discernment. The contribution of the Cambridge Platonists to the history of modern philosophical thought is important as they asserted the essential congruity of Christianity and Platonism and transmitted the philosophical ideals of the Italian Renaissance to the English eighteenth century spirit. [16]

The new discoveries in science, this revival of Neo-platonic thought on seventeenth and eighteenth century theologists and philosophers led to a positive worship of all aspects of Creation and to a belief that only rural life afforded opportunities for the full development of man's intellectual and moral abilities.

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[16] W.C De Pauley., The Candle of the Lord, studies in the Cambridge Platonists, Millwood, New York 1986; C.A. Patrides, The Cambridge Platonists, London, 1969.

The pleasure of contemplating nature was chiefly the pleasure of observing how every part of nature, even ugly and "irregular", conduced to harmony of the whole, and therefore formed inefutable evidence of the existence of a benevolent master. As Pope in Windsor Forest (1713) writes:

> Here hills and vales, the woodland and the plain,
> Here earth and water seem to strive again;
> Not chaos-like together crush'd and bruis'd,
> But, as the world harmoniously confused:
> Where order in variety we see,
> And where, tho' all things differ, all agree.[17]

This idea had been expressed by intellectuals like Timothy Nourse in the late seventeenth century. He maintained that every aspect of nature is beautiful when viewed as a component of a larger whole, and the perception of this beauty calms and enchants the contemplative man.

> At once he sees all the Varieties of shady Woods, of lofty Trees, of fruitful Fields, and of flowry Meadows, together with distant Mountains, and their various Mixtures of Rocks and Valleys, of Light and Shadows, all which make a confus'd, but withall a most agreeable and charming Object....How Fragrant is the Earth, how

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[17] Alexander Pope, Windsor Forest, London, 1713, ll. 11-28.

> Temperate is the Air, how Clear and Gentle are the Streams.....and what a charming Languor surprizes him, and makes him a willing Prisoner of his own Felicity? All his boyling Passions are here extinguish'd...[18]

This is the philosophic notion of *concordia discors.* Pythagorus is generally credited with first formulating the idea that the cosmos is arranged as a harmonious disposition of various discordant elements. Later this principle became part of Renaissance Neo-platonism where the universe, despite its apparent diversity, was seen as expression of a divinely ordered plan.[19]

Nourse's Neo-platonic vision of nature becomes evident when he praises the beauty of the universe and then afterwards turns his attention to the transcendent beauty of God:

> Now from the Order, Beauty, and Perfection, which we observe in the whole Frame of Creatures, the Contemplative Person has some Dawnings of the Transcendent and Superlative Beauty which is natural to the Creator...[20]

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[18] Timothy Nourse, A Discourse upon the Nature and Faculties of Man, in several Essays, London, 1686, p.176.
[19] David H. Solkin, Richard Wilson, London, 1982, pp. 67-71.
[20] Ibid. p. 178.

Joseph Addison, in The Spectator n. 489, expresses the same concept concerning the formation of the idea of God. Talking about the wide expanse of the sea, he writes:

> Such an object naturally raises in my thoughts the idea of an Almighty Being, and convinces me of his existence as much as metaphysical demonstration. The Imagination prompts the understanding, and by the greatness of the sensible object, produces in it the idea of a Being who is neither circumscribed by time nor space..[21]

As one might have realized, the idea of a landscape which we encounter in Shaftesbury, Timothy Nourse, Pope, Addison and the majority of intellectuals of this period is varied and includes all aspects of nature, and it penetrated into the depths of space on a half Newtonian quest for truth and beauty. A single closed garden could no longer suffice for the eighteenth century contemplation of nature. Now the sea also had to be included and the mountains, the wide sweep of the sky to give the idea of an infinite, natural landscape. The following passage from Shaftesbury's The Moralist well expresses this conception of a more natural garden:

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[21] Joseph Addison, The Spectator n. 489, London, 1712.

> I shall no longer resist the Passion growing in me for Things of a natural kind; where neither Art, nor the Conceit or Caprice of Man has spoil'd their genuine Order , by breaking in upon that primitive State. Even the rude Rocks, the mossy Caverns, the irregular unwrought Grotto's, and broken Falls of Waters, with all the horrid Graces of the Wilderness itself, as representing NATURE more, will be the more engaging, and appear with a Magnificence beyond the formal Mockery of Princely Gardens...[22]

From this brief philosophical background one realizes how the intellectual ferment of the seventeenth century could have helped originate the "idea of irregularity" which led to the development of a new style of garden. This new kind of garden meant to articulate the harmonious confusion perceived to exist in nature and in so doing to express a moral philosophy since, as it has been explained, man could learn the natural moral law only from nature in its primeval state. However, the early English landscape garden was not simply a site for human regeneration, its iconography provided also a means to express certain political ideals. Before discussing these political ideals we need to consider another important element that contributed to the development towards the idea of irregularity in garden design: the admiration for Chinese gardens and culture.

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[22] A. A. Cooper, Earl of Shaftesbury, The Moralist, London, 1711, III, sec. 2, p. 326.

Sources of Knowledge about Chinese Gardens

The knowledge about China which reached Europe during the seventeenth century and later included a certain amount of information about gardens, for almost all missionaries' reports had a reference to them. Matteo Ricci was one of the first Jesuits to report on a garden with strange artificial rockeries and deep grottoes which were used as places to study or for amusement during summer. After Ricci, in 1655, Father Semedo in his work The History of that...Monarchy of China reported:

> There are many pleasant gardens and a river which runneth amongst the palaces and yieldeth much delight with his windings and turnings. There are many artificial mounts with many rare beasts and birds and many gardens made with exquisite diligence and all manner of curiosities.[23]

Then Father Grueber, who wrote twenty years later, noticed that "their gardens are very green and delightful because of the conveniency of watering them with fresh rivers".[24]

J.Nieuhoff's An Embassy from the East India Company of the United Provinces to the Grand Tartar Cham, Emperor of China, which was partly

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[23] S.Lang and N.Pevsner," Sir William Temple and Sharawaggi "in l'Arte, n.6, Giugno 1969, p. 392-394.
[24] Ibid.

illustrated with engravings, and was probably the most famous seventeenth-century report about China, was published in England in 1669. Nieuhoff gave the following descriptions of Chinese gardens:

> The whole Lake Wall'd in comprises about five English Miles in compass, and upon the adjacent Hills, (supplied with various rivulets and Fountains) appear several Temples, Palaces, Cloysters, Colledges and the like. The Banks of the Lake, which is the foot of the Mountain, are Pav'd on the top with Freestone, and ath-wart the Lake lie several bridges, so that they may walk over it, and see the Lake in all places. The forementioned Ways are all Planted with divers shading Trees, and accommodated with Benches, Arbors, and the like, for the conveniency of such as walk there, when they are weary to sit down and repose. The Chinese call it "the delightful Garden"..

Then describing one of the courts within the palace in Peking he wrote:

> a little rivulet called Yo, ... flows through the whole Court with several winding Channels, watering the Gardens and Groves.....This river flows also by several artificial mounts made in the Court, which the Chinese with great ingenuity have raised with Rubbish and covered with polished Marble, wrought and interwoven with Plats of Grass; on the top of them are trees and

> Flowers planted in excellent order. Lords and persons of Quality often times spend most of their Estates in making such artificial Mounts in their Gardens and Orchards. There are some which, not only have Cells very handsomely digg'd but also Sleeping Rooms, Apartments, and all manner of Closets within them, and serve the Chinese for retiring-places against the Heat in the Summer, and for Banqueting-houses to recreate themselves and their Guests in....[25]

A little later (1668) Magalhaens was struck by the shape of the Rocks which he saw in different gardens and which were "full of holes and hollownesses" and they were "so disposed as to counterfeit the high out-juttings and steep and rugged Precipices of Rocks; so that at a moderate distance the whole seems to represent some craggy wild Mountain, the first work of Nature".[26] The same admiration and surprise at the "naturalness" of Chinese gardens was expressed by Father Lecomte (1689):

> the Chinese, who so little apply themselves to order their Gardens, and to manage the real Ornaments are nevertheless taken with them and are at some cost about them, they make Grotto's in them, raise pretty little Artificial Eminencies, transport thither by piecemeal

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[25] Ibid.
[26] Ibid.

> whole Rocks, which they heap upon one another, without any further design then to imitate Nature.[27]

There were also several short passages concerning gardens in the work of Du Halde, of which two English translations were made in 1736.[28]
One of these passages was written by Père Gerbillon, a Jesuit who travelled widely with the Emperor retinue in 1688-91 :

> The Beauty of their Houses and Gardens consists in a great Property and Imitation of Nature as Grotto's, Shellwork and craggy Fragments of Rocks, such as are seen in the wildest Desarts. But above all they are fond of little Arbors and Parterres, enclosed with green Hedges which form little Walks. This is the Genius of the Nation. The Rich lay out a great deal of Money in these sort of Whims....[29]

Together with these descriptions, the Jesuits supplied Europe with prints of landscapes[30] (Fig. 99, 100), as well as designs made by themselves[31] or by their

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[27] Louis, Lecomte S.J., Nouveaux Mémoires sur État présent de la Chine, Paris, 1689, 2 vols. (English translation, 1691), p.162.
[28] Richard Brookes with the title, The General History of China, 1736 published by John Watts. It was immediately popular and passed into the "third and corrected" edition in 1741, Edward Cave's translation began to appear in The Gentleman's Magazine in February 1737 with the title, Description of China.
[29] J. B. Du Halde, A description of the Empire of China, London, 1741, Vol. 2, p. 326.
[30] For these England was as big a customer as France. The China Letter Book of the East India Company records that between 1699 and 1702 "paper pictures" were ordered in Canton to the value of £200 or £300. See M. Sullivan, The meeting of Eastern and Western World, London, 1973 p.49-50.

pupils and most of them brought back Chinese visitors who could have played an important role in furnishing information about the gardens of their country. One of the earliest of these Chinese was a certain Xin-Fo Cum (Shên Futsung) who arrived in England in 1687 and was introduced to the court of James II in London (Fig. 101). He accompanied Father Couplet on his return trip to France. Matteo Ripa, another Jesuit, brought with him in 1724 five Chinese, who were received at the court and, according to Ripa's words the king George I "commanded that the Chinese should dine at the table which was laid daily for the lords of his court". Before analyzing the effects which these missionaries reports and contacts with Chinese had on English intellectual and landscape gardener of the eighteenth century, it is necessary to give some further information about the theory of Chinese garden art.

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[31] Du Halde's work contains some of the forty-three plates painted by Pierre Griffart for L' État présent de la Chine en Figures published in 1697. These are based on Chinese paintings brought back in 1697 by Father Bouvet. Ibid., p. 99.

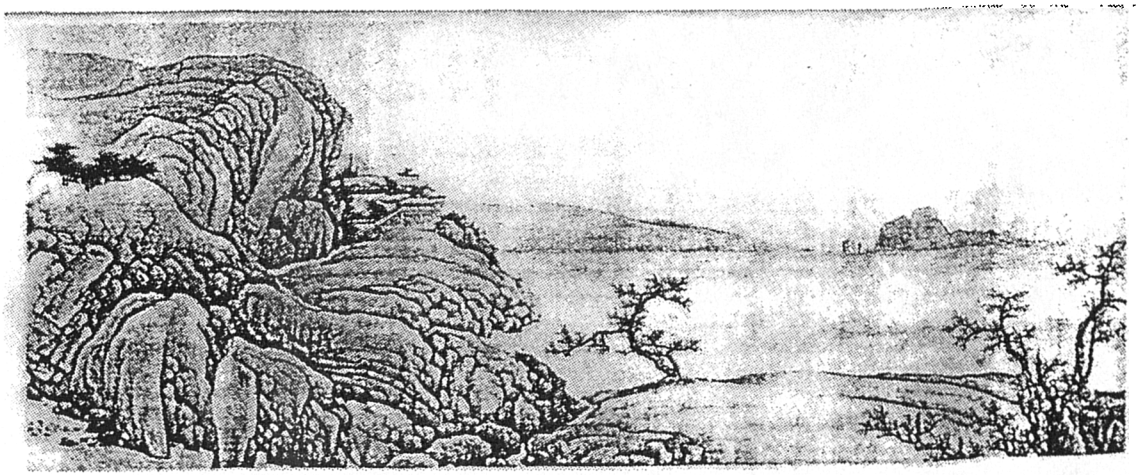

Fig. 99 Fan Chi' Landscape on the Yangtze River (detail) Handscroll. Colour on silk, second half of the seventeenth century.

Fig. 100 Tung Ching. Landscape, 1636 Handscroll. Colour on silk.

Fig. 101 Portrait of XIN FO CUM, (1687) which James treasured so much that he had it hung in the ante room of his bedchamber. It is now at Kensington Palace.

The Theory of Chinese Garden Art

William Chambers wrote in his Dissertation on Oriental Gardening:"Chinese gardeners are not only Botanists but also painters and Philosophers having a thorough knowledge of the human mind and of the arts by which its strongest feelings are excited".[32] Chinese gardens, in fact attempt to display in symbolic form the Chinese philosophy of life which is centred on the concept of Tao.[33]

The basis of the Chinese thought is the adjustment of the self to the order of the cosmos. Only this leads to the knowledge of Tao. Tao is the one unchangeable element and therefore it is the absolute value. It is the Divine all-one, the eternal order of the cosmos and at the same time its course. But in order to achieve this man has to assume a subordinate position towards nature, contemplative, observing as if he was an insignificant part of the natural scene. So Chinese gardens have to make man aware of this necessity of being in harmony with the natural order educating him to accept stoically the ups and downs of life.

The Chinese held that the chief aim of a garden, was to convey different feelings. Symbolism, either through rocks or pools or the arrangement, of trees is always present in the garden. Each garden should have its own character which

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[32]William Chambers, Dissertation on Oriental Gardening, London, 1772, p.13.

[33] Works that have proved to be helpful in the preparation of this chapter are: Kate Kerby, An Old Chinese Garden, Shanghai, 1928;This book contains reproductions of thirty -one paintings made by the seventeenth century artist Wen Cheng Ming in the Garden of the Unsuccessful Politician at Soochow. Also included is a written description by the artist of the garden; Maggie Keswick, The Chinese Garden, London, 1978; Marianne Beuchert, Die Gärten Chinas, Köln, 1983; Qian Yun, Classical Chinese Gardens, 1982; Chen Congzhou, (Shuo Yuan) On Chinese Gardens, bilingual edition with transl. By Chen Xiongshan, Shanghai, 1984.

makes it different from another one. This does not depend so much on its technical and logical layout as on the impressions it arouses on the visitors who walk through it. A garden is not just a copy of a landscape but a refined reproduction of it. One of the main tasks of a gardener is to reinforce, strengthen, in the visitor the feeling for the changing of seasons, as it symbolizes the course of life (Tao): the joy of the spring, the glowing of summer, the melancholy of autumn and the cold winter.

Chinese gardens are divided up into scenes each of which has its viewing point marked by a seat or a building. The Chinese garden is discovered scene by scene, one leading to the next for nature reveals itself slowly part by part, moment by moment and cannot be seen from a single point of view. The subject of seasons is mentioned in Yuan Ye, a treatise on gardens of 1634[34], as well as in an essay based on Chinese sources published in 1782 by the Missionaries of Peking. It says that peach and cherry trees with their beautiful blossoms form an amphitheatre for Spring, acacias, ashes and plane trees provide bowers of green for Summer while Autumn has its weeping willows and its trembling poplars with their shiny leaves.[35]

Taoists consider the world as a dynamic structure of relations. From the knowledge of natural rhythms: the changing of seasons, the Day and the Night, the lunar phases, and also from the relation between man and woman, soft and hard, opened and closed, they derive the concept of contrasts which are linked one

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[34]This treatise has recently been translated by Alison Hardie : Ji Cheng, The Craft of Gardens (Yuan Ye), New Haven, 1988.

[35] P.P. M. Cibot, Mémoires concernant l'histoire des sciences, les moeurs, les usages des Chinois par les Missionaires de Pekin, VIII, Paris, 1782 p.318.

another and depend one on another. They call these contrasts Ying and Yang. According to Taoism man can reach the harmony of soul and body only if he achieves the balance of Ying and Yang forces. Thus, only if man reaches a true relation with Nature, which implies a thorough subjection to its order, can he partake in its harmony and learn from it how to find harmony within himself.

The essential concepts which a Chinese garden should convey are the spirit of life, the balance of contrasts and forces, rhythm and harmony. Li Jiale, a garden theorist said: "a garden must be realistic and romantic, Ying and Yang". According to this in Chinese scenery a smiling landscape must contrast with something terrible such as an overhanging threatening rock[36], a deformed tree apparently broken by the force of a storm, dark hollows, or foaming waterfalls. Chinese admire diversity of form and the queer irregularity in their gardens: as they say there is not monotony in Nature but movement. This movement is represented in gardens not only by quiet and rhythmic scenes but also by clear and intricate vistas, and the intensive and light colours of foliage.

In China landscape painting and poetry have always been tied with gardening so much that the three arts were thought of as interdependent, each requiring an understanding of the others. To this regard the author of Yuan Ye writes:

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[36] In a description of an old garden not far from Peking, the Lang Jun Yuan or Garden of Moonlit Fertility it is reported that a distorted stone looms by a pathway, a stone that is disturbing, menacing. The owner of the garden, prince Tsai Tao referring to this says: " Terror makes beauty more poignant". See Dorothy Graham, Chinese Gardens, New York, 1938, pp. 158-60.

> The laying out of ground and creating of hills is a specialized art, not something for an ordinary mechanic to try his hands at. Therefore those skilled in landscaping have the ability to make a garden.... This [landscape painting] is coping the rules of nature and why is not the creating of hills also copying nature?...[37]

The Chinese said that in the layout of a garden the brush should lead the shovel.[38] Thus, like painters, Chinese architects had to take into account perspective and the problem of light and shade when they created a garden. Winding paths and streams were contrived in a way which prevented the visitor from seeing their ends (Fig. 102), so that the garden gave the impression of being unbounded. They set the biggest rocks on the foreground and the little ones on the background to give a sense of depth. They planted trees in clumps to represent a wood. The trees on the foreground were kept sparse, while the ones in the background were allowed to grow freely (Fig. 103, 104, 105).The Yuan Ye reports some of the above mentioned rules that one had to follow in laying out his garden:

> Excavate the earth and build up mountains. Along the edge of the pond there should be willows gracefully beckoning the visitor to enter the pavilion. The reflection in the pond invites the visitor to enter the palace of the fishes. The serpentizing must look as if it

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[37] Ji Cheng, op. cit., Introduction p. 9.
[38] Marianne Beuchert, op.cit., p.232.

Fig. 102-109 F. Matteo Ripa, The Imperial Gardens at Jehol. Some of the 36 engravings dated 1713. Original size 30.5 x 35 cm. By permission of the Bodleian Library, Oxford.

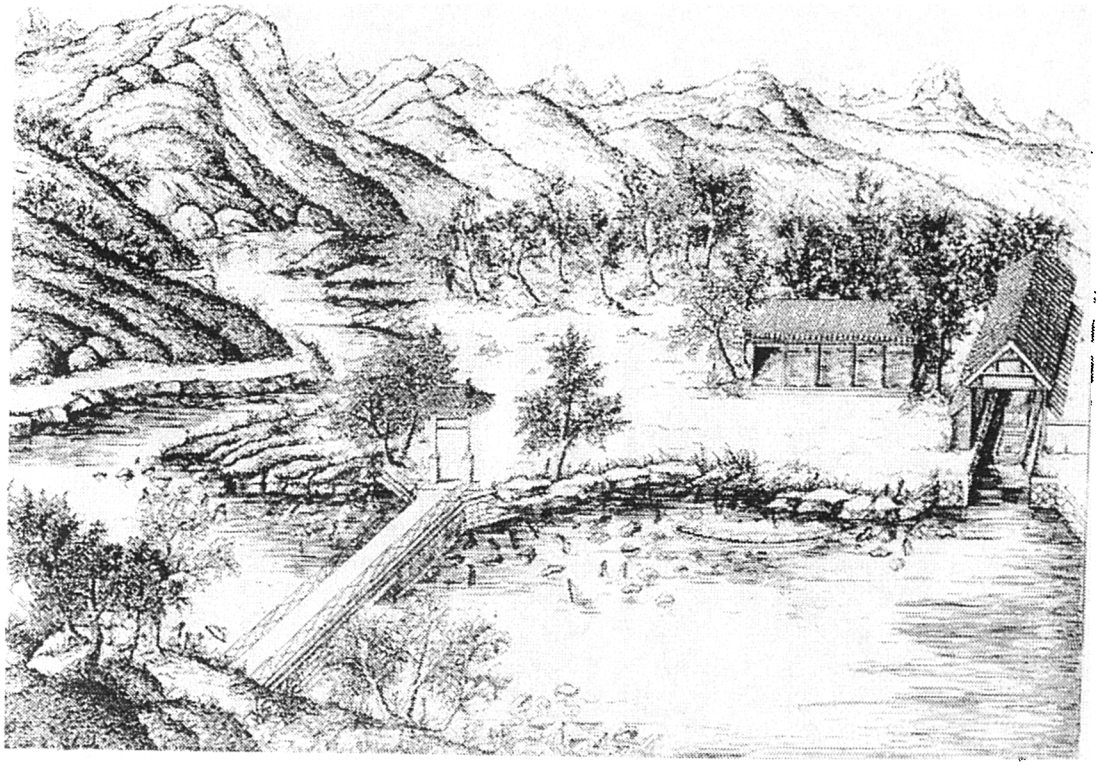

Fig. 102

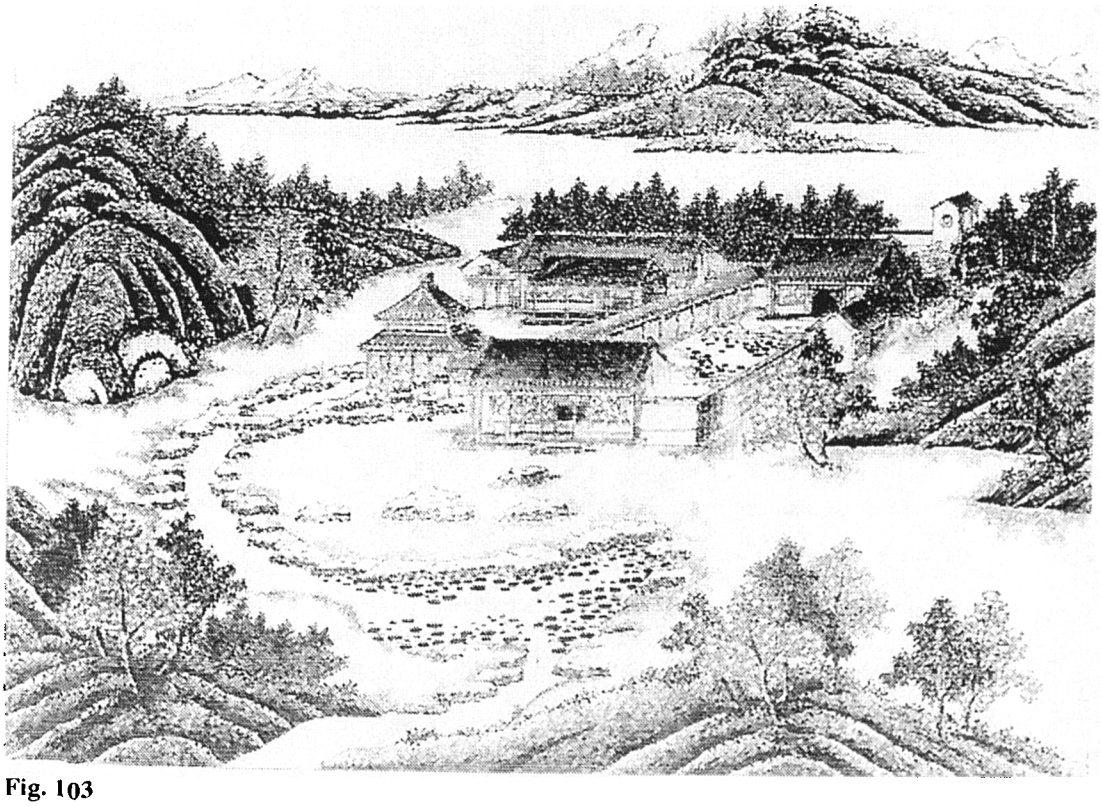

Fig. 103

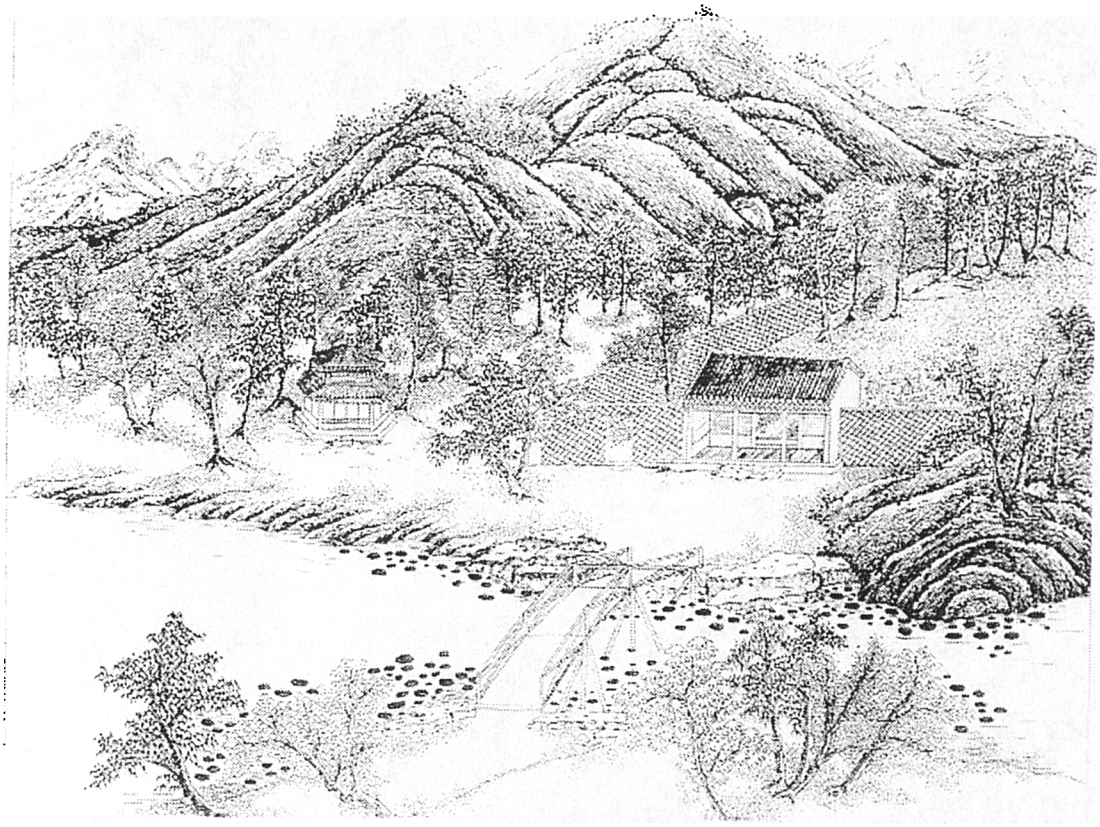

Fig. 104

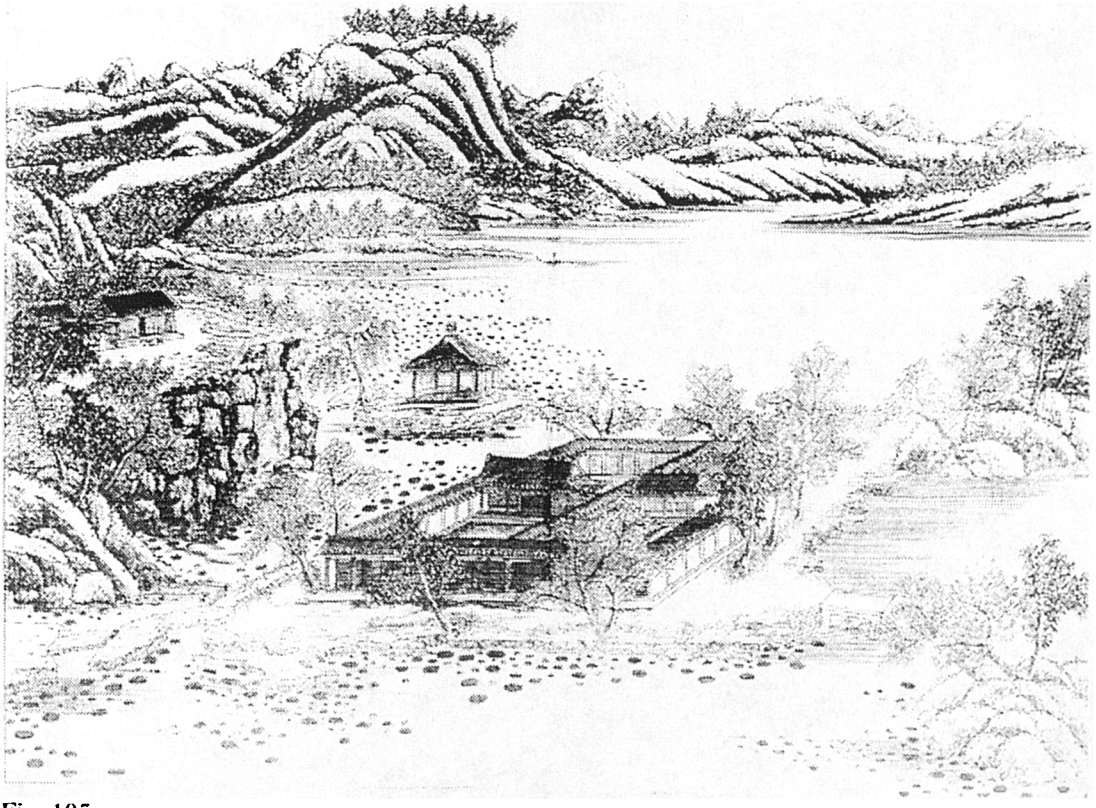

Fig. 105

> has no end. Span it with bridges. In excavating rivers to flow to the limit of the sky, the appearance must be like that of the wilds. The hills must reach up into the heavens. The illusion of distance is proper..[39]

The chief aim of a Chinese architect was to study the contours of the land (or consult the "Genius of the Place" as Pope would say) and find some central point where all the minor scenes which form a garden could be seen in one comprehensive view:

> Whenever the land is laid out for a garden, decide upon the central room of the house first. It must have a good view. It would be best to have it face south. Leave much empty space. After the main house has been decided upon, locate the pavilions and terraces in relation to it...[40]

The typical features of a Chinese garden, together with plants, were rocks, water and buildings which were scattered all over the grounds (Fig. 106). Every Pavilion had its fixed purpose of enlivening a particular scene or providing a rest at some special view point (Fig. 107) or showing the garden in the varying light of different times of a day.

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[39] Ji Cheng, op. cit., Book One, p. 12.
[40] Ibid.

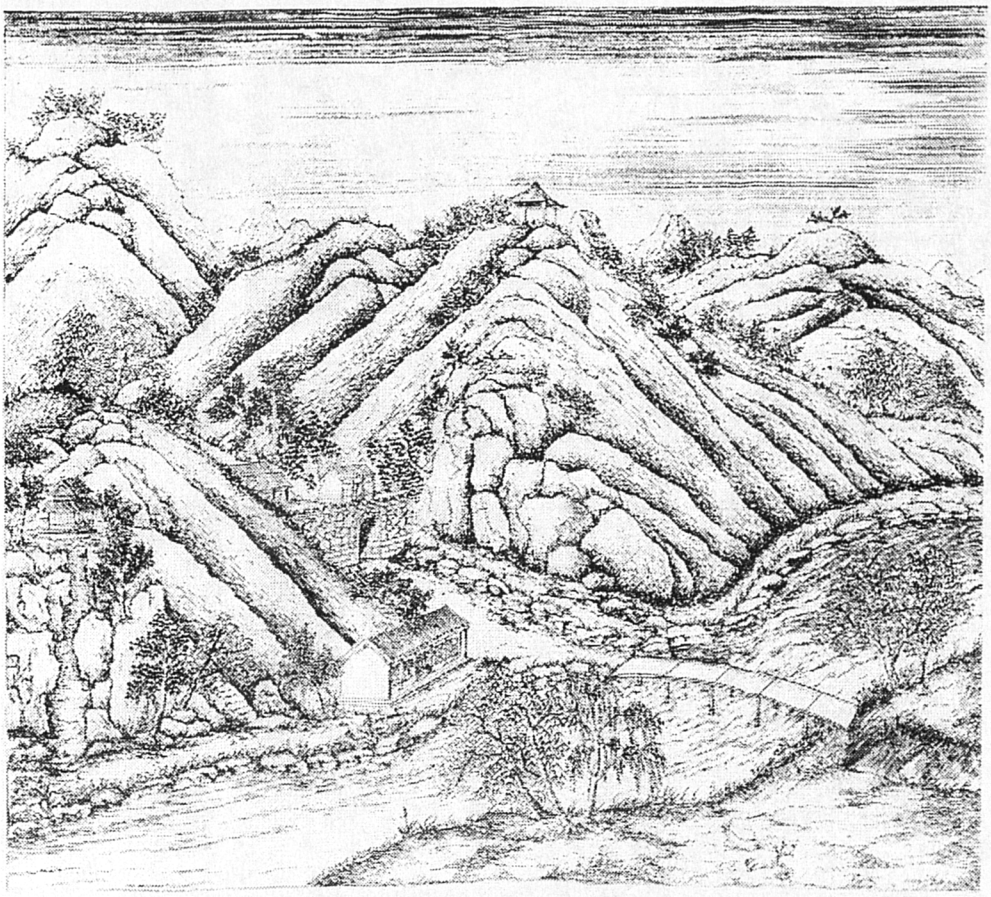

Fig. 106

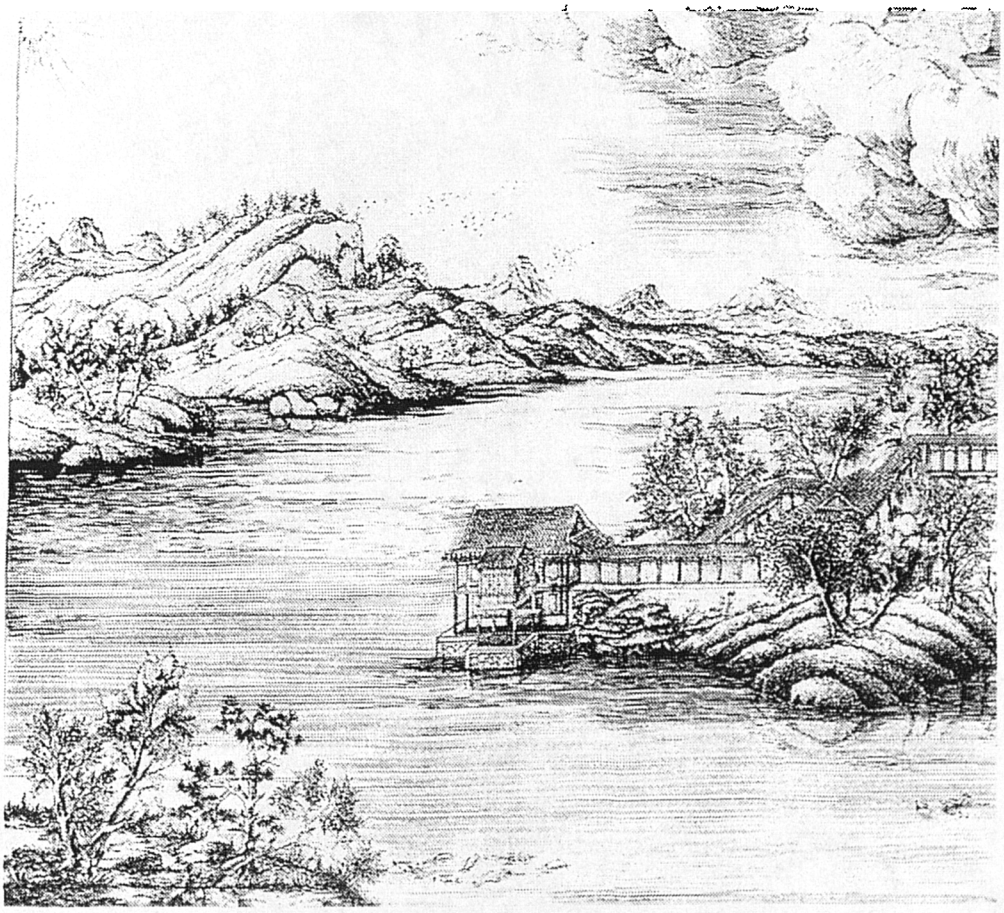

Fig. 107

Rocks were essential in a garden as they suggested the most permanent element of the natural world. They symbolized the strength of life, the all-one, the Tao. The peculiar reverence which the Chinese had for stones was also noticed by the many Jesuits who saw these gardens. One of them, Martinus Martini, wrote in his Novus Atlas Sinesis in 1655 : "They investigate the psychology of a mountain, its formation, its actual veins, just as astrologers examine the heavens, or chiromancers the hand of a man"[41]. These rocks were usually pierced with irregular holes, furrowed and gashed with indentations. According to the rules for setting them up, they should never appear symmetrically arranged and the placing of one or more stones to form the feature of an overhanging mountain should be contrived as to avoid any feeling of artificiality [42](Fig. 108). In the rocks and artificial hills of a garden there were sometimes hollows and even actual rooms.[43]

Water was considered as the soul of a garden and it was always in relation with rocks. Water acted as the veins and arteries of a mountains. Lake and streams were always present in a Chinese garden. The lake could be large or small according to the size of the estate and if large enough it had one or more islands. It was approached either by a path or by a bridge constructed of flat rectangular stones or of wood (Fig. 109).

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[41] Quoted in: Marie Luise Gothein, History of Garden Art, vol.II, London, Hacker Art Books, 1966, p.243.

[42] In addition, the presence of mountains in a garden was a traditional metaphor for a pure and incorruptible world. According to Confucius, Book of Mencius, if the government is corrupt then the Confucian gentleman should retire to an idle existence. The early moral exemplars who withdrew from the government retreated into the mountains and therefore miniature mountains were a visual gloss to indicate that the garden owner was morally lofty. See Jan Stuart," Ming dynasty gardens reconstructed in words and images ", Journal of Garden History, 1990, Vol.10, n. 3, pp. 162-172.

[43] These deep caverns alluded to the cave-heavens of Taoist paradise and a hope for immortality. A passageway through the rocks was a journey towards enlightenment and happiness, renewal and rebirth. Ibid.

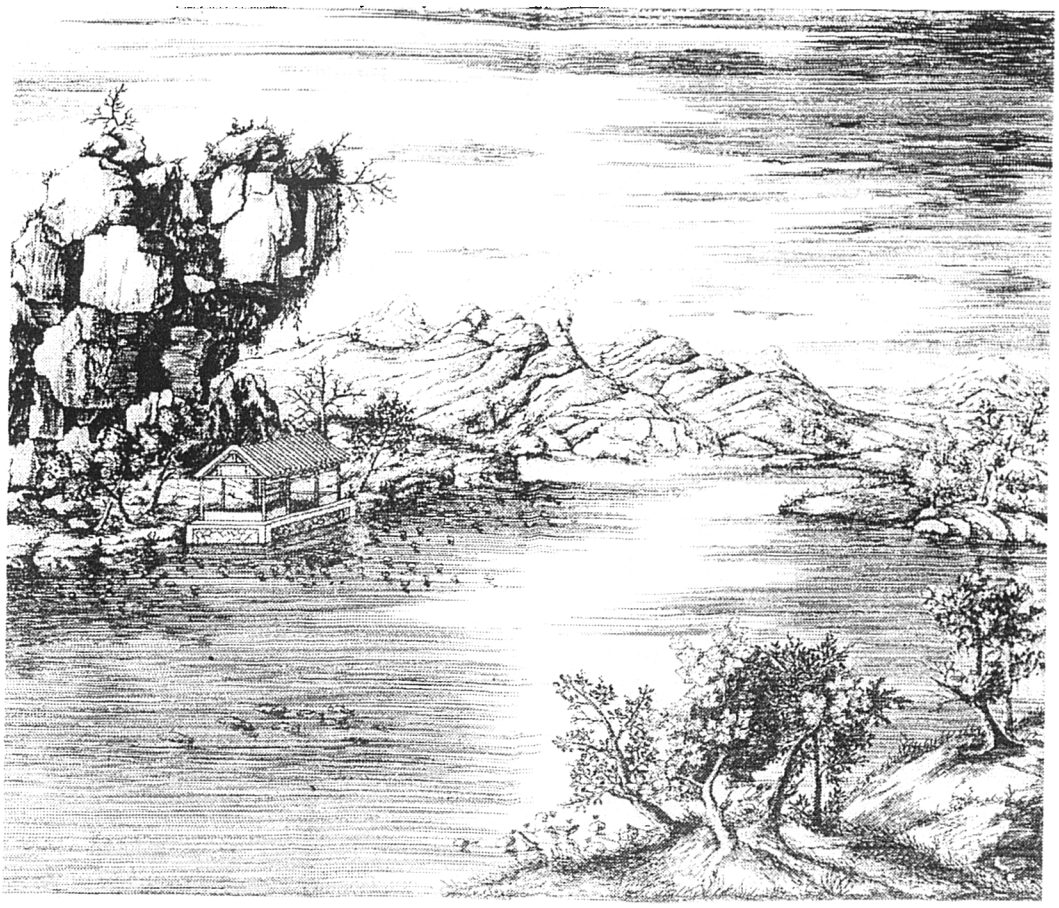

Fig. 108

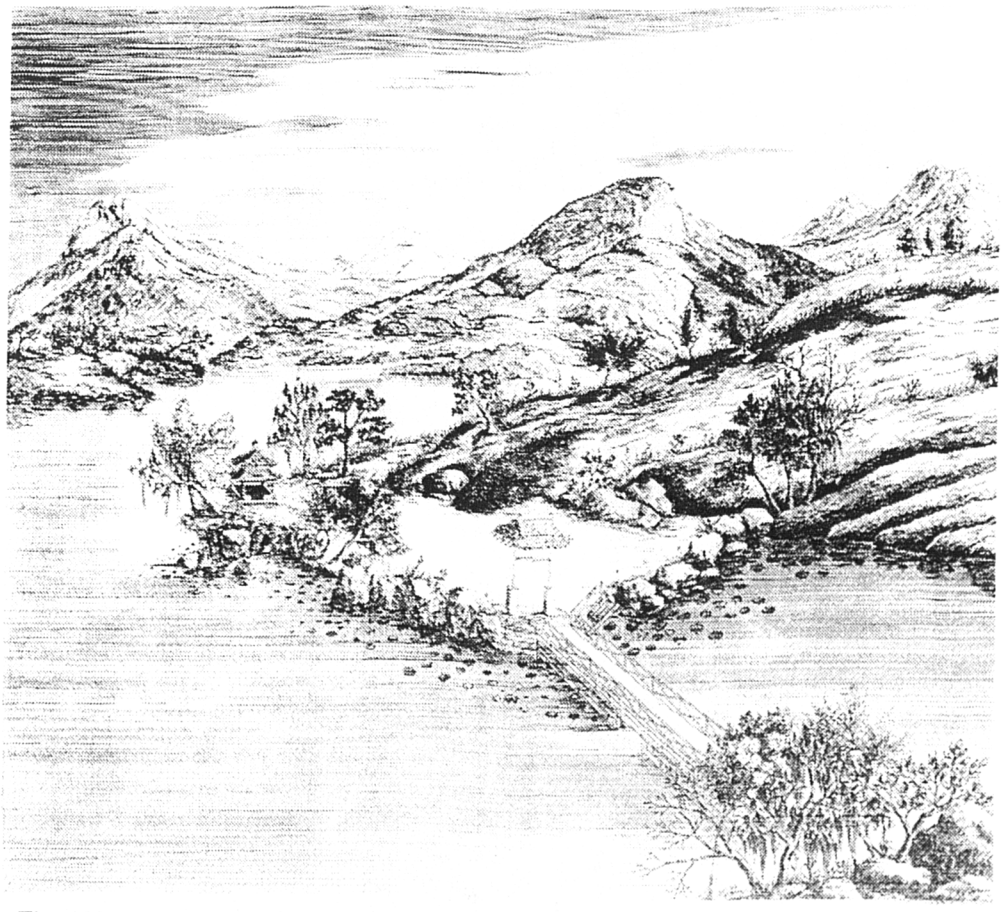

Fig. 109

A complete knowledge of this ideological content of Chinese gardens seems to have been more accessible towards the middle of the eighteenth century when artists like Chambers clearly describe the philosophy behind the Chinese garden. However (as we will see in the next chapters) there are many similarities between the Chinese rules on laying out a garden and the rules followed by the promoters of the new style of garden in England. It will be apparent that, on the face of it, Chinese gardens supplied a precedent for many of the phenomena which became characteristic of the eighteenth-century English landscape garden: we must now enquire into whether or not the apparent connection is at all historically significant.

Chinese Influence on the Early English Landscape Garden

Sir William Temple was the earliest English enthusiast for the Chinese gardens and the first to introduce into English garden literature the principle of the irregularity of nature as an exotic notion. In his well known essay Upon the Gardens of Epicurus, written in 1685, he describes the regular forms of garden of his time and then he adds:

> There may be other forms wholly irregular, that may, for ought I know, have more beauty than any of the others; but they must owe it to some extraordinary dispositions of nature in the seat, or some great race of fancy or judgement in the contrivance, which may produce many disagreeing parts into some figure, which shall yet upon the whole, be very agreeable. Something of this I have seen in some places, but heard more of it from others, who have lived among the Chinese; ...The Chinese scorn this way of planting, and say a boy that can tell an hundred, may plant walks of trees in straight lines, and over against one another, and to what length and extent he pleases. But their greatest reach of imagination, is employed in contriving figures where the beauty shall be great, and strike the eye, but without any order or disposition of parts, that shall be commonly or easily observed. And though we have hardly any notion of this sort of beauty, yet they have a particular word to

> express it; and where they find it hit their eye at first sight, they say the Sharawaggi is fine or is admirable, or any such expression of esteem. And whoever observes the work upon the best India gowns, or the painting upon their best screens or porcelains, will find their beauty is all of this kind (that is) without order.[44]

As Lovejoy said, he introduced a Chinese word (Sharawaggi) to express the notion of the "picturesque", which became the subject of serious aesthetic debates around a century after Temple wrote. This expression has been interpreted in three ways. These are respectively, disorderly grace, from the Chinese sa-ro(K)wai-chi, asymmetrical design from the Japanese sorowandji, arrangement of wide and scattered composition without order from the Chinese sou lou wai chi, all of which give the same idea of disorder but in a calculated form.

In an article in The Spectator (1712) Joseph Addison deplored the fact that English gardens have to impose mathematical shapes - cones, spheres and pyramids - on the vegetation, and also mentioned the freer landscape of the Chinese hinting at sharawadgi in saying "They have a word for it". If we compare this passage with the one from William Temple it appears plain that he borrowed from him without acknowledgement. Since he cannot remember the word, he was probably quoting from memory:

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[44] William Temple, Essay upon the Garden of Epicurus, 1685 in: Essay on Gardens, Sir William Temple and others, ed. by I. Gollancz, The Kings Classics, London, 1908, pp.3-65.

> Writers who have given us an account of China, tell us the inhabitants of that country laugh at the plantations of our Europeans, which are laid out by rule and line; because, they say, anyone may place trees in equal rows and uniform figures. They choose rather to show a genius in works of this nature and therefore always conceal the art by which they direct themselves. They have a word, it seems, in their language, by which they express the particular beauty of a plantation that thus strikes the imagination at first sight without discovering what it is that has so agreeable an effect..[45]

Even more interesting is the passage from The Tatler n.161 18-20 April 1710, where Addison reports a dream he had, and his description of the landscape is very similar to the reports of missionaries on gardens. He says he found himself surrounded by Rocks and Hills and that he travelled through a great "Variety of Winter Scenes" till he gained the Top of a Mountain from which he looked down into a spacious Plain. "The Place was covered with a wonderful Profusion of Flowers, that without being disposed into regular Borders and Parterres, grew promiscuously, and had a greater Beauty in their natural Luxuriances and Disorder". Then he sees a "River that by an infinite Number of Turns and Windings" it last "throws itself into the Hollow of a Mountain from when it passes under a long Range of Rocks " and eventually "stagnates in a huge lake".

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[45] Joseph Addison, The Spectator, n. 414, 25 June, London, 1712.

About the same time, the first books to be published on gardening tried, even if still timidly for fear of upsetting potential clients, to reform traditional styles of gardening, and they seem to graft on elements characteristic of Chinese gardens.

In Ichnographia Rustica, Stephen Switzer insists that landscape designs must submit to Nature, rather than make Nature submit to them. He advises landowners against wall building saying that "the adjacent country should be laid open to the view" and he refers again to the "suppos'd... manner of Gard'ning amongst the Chinese".[46] But his creations were still in the nature of a compromise so he cannot claim credit for the radical change in landscape garden. It is however evident that received ideas about what the Chinese were thought to have done in their gardens were entering that enlightened discourse which, in debating estate design, was preferring a "natural" irregularity to formal geometry. When Batty Langley published New Principles of Gardening(1728) he seemed to follow Addison's ideas when he wrote: "The Pleasure of a Garden depends on the variety of its Parts". He praises the gardens with winding paths and "blessed with small Rivulets and curling Streams of clear water".

To some extent Alexander Pope repeated the principles already stated by Temple and Addison. In his earliest article against the fashion of topiary in The Guardian n. 17, 1713, he quoted with approval from Temple's essay. In a letter to Robert Digby (12 August 1725?) while he was commenting on the picturesque landscape created by Lord Bathurst, the gardens of the East came into his mind as a fitting analogue to Cirencester and he praised the "Sharawaggi of China" saying

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[46] Stephen Switzer, Ichonographia Rustica, London, 1718, Vol.I, p.38

it was certainly "very great and very wild". Before the well known Epistle to Lord Burlington, from a letter he wrote to Martha Blount (1722-24), describing the gardens at Sherborne estate of his friend Lord Digby, we can already have an idea of his future theory of landscape gardening. He admires the "irregularity" of the place adding that:

> The beauty rises from this Irregularity for not only the several parts of the Garden itself make the better Contraste by these sudden Rises, Falls, and Turns of ground, but the Views about it are let in & hang over the Walls, in very different figures and aspects.

Even though he underlines the same principles as others had previously done, he was the first to suggest in the Epistle to Lord Burlington (1731) that in order to create this irregularity or sharawaggi, the landscape gardener has to follow three rules: "the contrast, the management of surprises, and the concealment of the bounds".The same rules, (see previous chapter) were followed by Chinese gardeners who, in order to represent the contrasting forces of Ying and Yang, created contrasting scenes in the garden.

While in Pope's own garden the central axis remained and there was still a round pond with straight radial paths in the French tradition it did contain new elements: the Grotto and the hillock with its spiral path, and was laid out according to certain picturesque concepts which, as we have seen, were not totally new. The grotto in particular offers further evidence of Pope's concept of variety

and surprise, analogous to Chinese gardens. We know that he worked hard to diversify the water into different forms or "characters" so that it could convey different feelings. A visitor to the grotto, soon after the poet's death, was especially impressed with the variety of water effects:

> Here it gurgles in a gushing Rill thro' fractur'd Ores and Flint, there it drips from depending Moss and Shells; here again, washing Beds of Sand and Pebbles, it rolls in Silver Streamlets; and there it rushes out in Jets and Fountains; while the Caverns of the Grot incessantly echo with a soothing Murmur of acquatick Sounds.

Then the writer goes on to describe how the water was so contrived as to convey a feeling of surprise:

> This is effected by disposing Plates of Looking glass in the obscure Parts of the Roof and Sides of the Cave, where a sufficient Force of Light is wanting to discover the Deception, while the other parts, the Rills, Fountain, Flints, Pebbles, etc. Being duly illuminated, are so reflected by the various posited Mirrors, as, without exposing the Cause, every Object is multiplied, and in its Position represented in a surprising Diversity. Cast your Eyes upward, and you half shudder to see Cataracts of Water precipitating over your Head, from impeding Stones and Rocks, while salient Spouts rise in rapid Streams at your Feet: Around ,

> you are equally surprized with flowing rivulets and rolling Waters. That rush over airey Precipices, and break amongst Heaps of ideal Flints and Spar.[47]

We can infer that Pope had the kind of general awareness of things Chinese such as was described above. His close friend Spence, was interested in China too, and translated into English Père Attiret's celebrated description of the gardens of Yuan Ming Yuan. Interestingly the Chinese and classical antiquity were brought together by Robert Castell in The Villas of the Ancients . Describing the gardens of ancient Roman villas he distinguished two styles, one which laid out: "Ground and Plantation by the Rule and Line" and another which imitated the country "Imitatio Ruris". In order to explain how this second style would look, he referred to the:

> Accounts we have of the present Manner of Designing in China, whose beauty consisted in a close Imitation of Nature, where tho' the Parts are disposed with the greatest Art, the Irregularity is still preserved, so that their Manner may not improperly be said to be an artful Confusion, where there is no appearance of that Skill

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[47] Written by an anonimous contributor to the Newcastle General Magazine or Monthly Intelligencer in 1748. The piece is reprinted by Maynard Mack, op. cit., 237.

> which is made use of their Rocks, Cascades, and Trees bearing their natural form.[48]

The importance of this is that it conflates the Chinese with that antique tradition in which British "Augustan" culture is usually considered to have been founded, and points to the Chinese influence being mixed in with the antique and the Italian Renaissance on the British garden.

Castell and the rest of the Burlington circle would have been able to visualize Chinese "Sharawaggi" from 1724. In this year Father Matteo Ripa (1682-1746) returned to Europe having stayed at the Chinese Court from 1711 to 1724, and spent a month in London. He brought with him five Chinese people and was received by the king George I and the polite society of London. He had thirty-six views of the garden at Jehol, near Peking, which he engraved for the Emperor K'ang-hsi (Fig. 102-109). The time was propitious for there was intense curiosity about China. It is inconceivable that he had no opportunity to speak about Chinese gardens in this city so interested in gardens or that he did not illustrate the appearance of the gardens in China with his pictures. He could also have spoken about Chinese philosophy of gardens and the Chinese who were with him could have provided further direct information for those who were interested in this art.

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[48] Robert Castell, The Villas of the Ancient, London, 1728 quoted in J.Dixon Hunt, Peter Willis, The Genius of the Place, The English Landscape Garden 1620-1820, Harper and Row Publishers, New York, Evanston, San Francisco, London, 1975, p. 189.

He himself writes that he got to know so many people and experienced so much that he could have written a whole book about it.[49]

Lord Burlington acquired a copy of these engravings[50] and there is further evidence that they actually circulated among the connoisseurs in a letter written by Joseph Spence to the Rev. Mr Wheeler in 1751 where he states: "I have lately seen thirty-six prints of a vast garden belonging to the present emperor of China: there is not one regular walk of trees in the whole ground....". In this letter Spence summarizes "some general rules" about landscape garden which clearly refers to these engravings as he picks out certain characteristics of them. He claims that a garden should have "pieces of water with alders and willows dashed here and there at a proper distance from each other." Hills are necessary to a great garden, he says so "if the ground be all flat, one should make risings and inequalities in it". He points out the importance of managing the plantation "in such a manner that you may be led to some striking object, or change unexpectedly". He suggests "to conceal the bounds" and this, he says, can be done by "what they call invisible fences as being but little discernible to the eye" and he brings as example "the fence most common in the Emperor of China's garden.". He refers again to China when he speaks of the "mixing of lights and shades" as in this "Chinese seem very much to exceed our pleasure-ground maker- They have scarce any such thing as

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[49] Marianne Beuchert, "Wie ein italienischer Jesuit den Chinesischen Garten nach England brachte" in Daidalos, 15 Dezember 1992, pp. 40-52.

[50] Basil Gray, "Lord Burlington and Father Ripa's Chinese Engravings", in, British Museum Quarterly, XXII, 1957-60, pp.40-43.

close or thick groves in any of their near views: they fling them all on some of the hills at distance".[51]

All these rules which Spence admits to have derived from Chinese, were included by Pope in the Epistle to Lord Burlington (1731):

To build, to plant, whatever you intend,
To rear the Column, or the Arch to bend,
To swell the Terras, or to sink the Grot;
In all, let Nature never be forgot.
But treat the Goddess like a modest fair,
Nor over-dress, nor leave her wholly bare;
Let not each beauty ev'ry where be spy'd,
Where half the skill is decently to hide.
He gains all points, who pleasingly confounds,
Surprizes, varies, and conceals the Bounds.
Consult the Genius of the Place in all;
That tells the Waters or to rise, or fall,
Or helps th' ambitious Hill the heav'n to scale,
Or scoops in circling theatres the Vale,
Calls in the Country, catches opening glades,
Joins willing woods, and varies shades from shades,
Now breaks or now directs, th' intending Lines;

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[51] Joseph Spence, Observations, Anecdotes and Characters of Books and Men, ed. J.M. Osborn, London, 1966, Vol.II, pp.647-649.

Paints as you plant, and, as you work, designs.[52]

As mentioned in the previous chapter, Chinese architects were also following pictorial principles in laying out their gardens and one of their basic rules (according to the Yuang Ye) was the study of the contours of the land which becomes in Pope's words "the Genius of the Place".

William Kent, could have augmented his Italian experience with a knowledge of China, which he could have got from his readings of Addison, Pope, the garden literature of the period[53] and Ripa's engravings and utilised this in designing the more romantic parts of Chiswick gardens as well as parts of Stowe and Rousham. If we compare some of Ripa's engravings (Fig. 106, 109,110) with Kent's drawings (111, 112, 113, 114) we will soon notice a similitude in the free, seemingly haphazard distribution of single trees and clusters of trees, in the sinuous lakes, bridges, small hills and the random placing of garden pavilions. It is especially the shape of pavilions in Ripa's engravings (Fig. 115) and their position on the top of a hill and near a river or a lake (Fig.104, 105, 106, 119) which provides further evidence that

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[52] Alexander Pope, Epistle to Lord Burlington, London, 1731, ll. 47-64.

[53] Kent could also have read the following books on China which were found in Lord Burlington 's library at Chiswick: A. Brand, Relation du Voyage de E. Isbrand a' la Chine, Amsterdam, 1699, L.Lange, Journal de la Cour de la Chine Paris, 1726; J. B. Du Halde, Description de la Chine, Paris 1735. These literature on travels did contain some information on gardens as we have seen. One of these books in particular, Kaempfer's Histoire du Japan, La Haye, 1728, contained description of a garden "ressemblant á la nature" with "petit rochers.[..] fait á l'imitation de la nature", "temples...situeé pour le plaisir de la vue sur quelque éminence remarquable oú sur les bords de quelque lieu escarpé and where there is " un petit ruisseau qui se précipite du haut du rocher avec un agréable murmure" , " un petit bois A' l'un de côte de la montagne" and ".. un Étang oú l'on tient du poisson et que l'on entoure de plants..". See Kaempfer, op. cit., pp. 141-142. The book contained also an engraving showing an irregular landscape with islands and bridges surrounding the Temple of Matsussima.

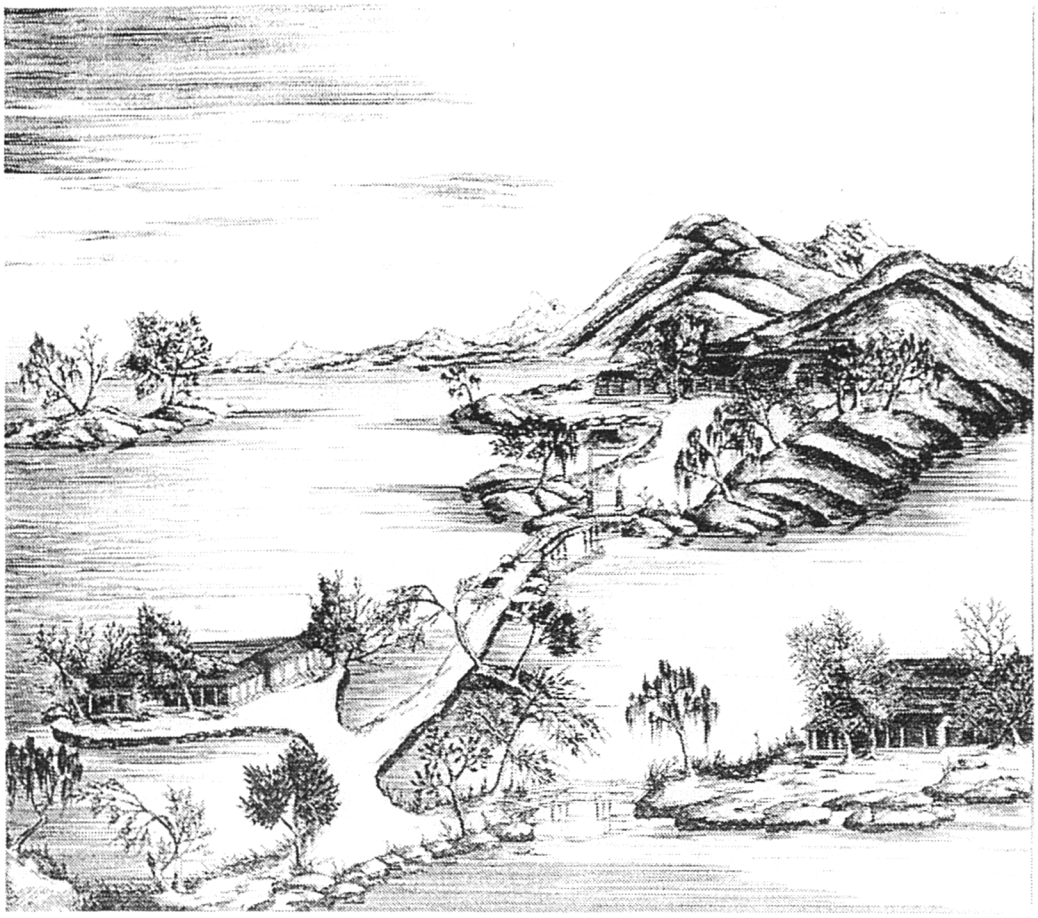

Fig. 110 F. Matteo Ripa. The Imperial gardens at Jehol. One of the 36 engravings dated 1713.. These engravings were the first illustrations of Chinese landscape gardens to reach the West. They were known to Lord Burlington and his circle in 1724 and influenced the development of the English landscape garden movement.

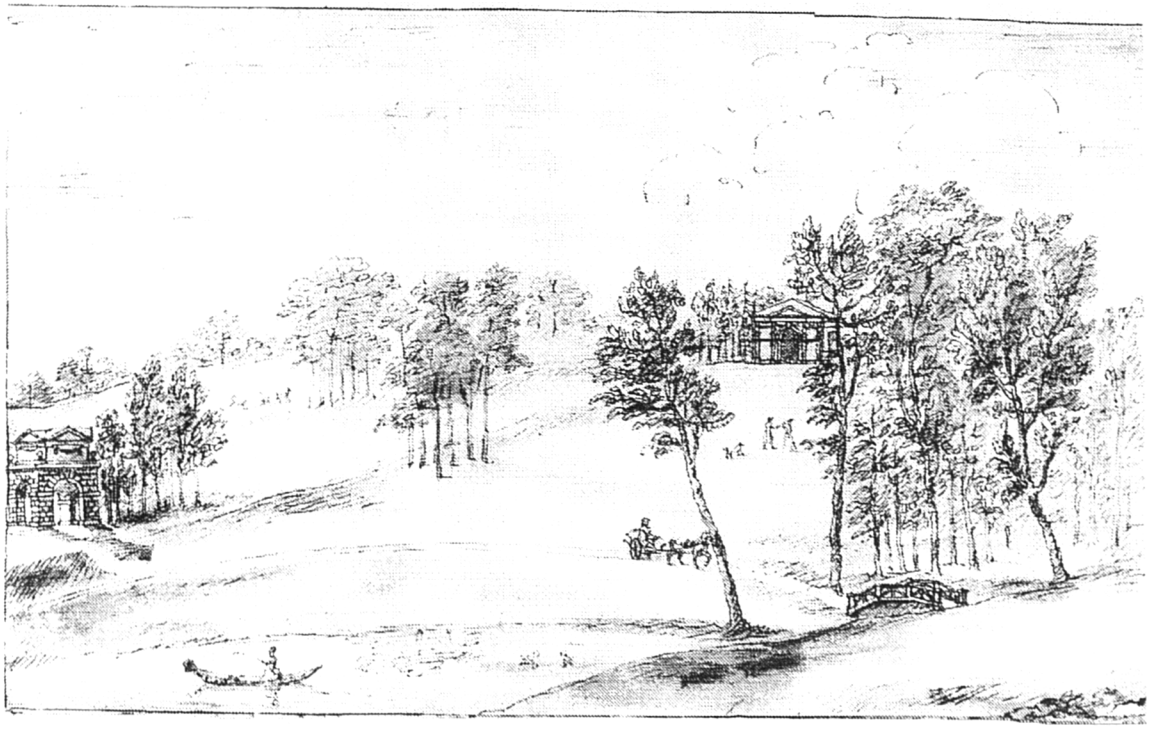

Fig. 111 W. Kent 's design for the gardens at Holkham, Norfolk (after 1734). Pen and wash, 28.9 x 50. From a volume with drawings in Lord Leicester's collection, Holkham

Fig. 112 Kent's drawing, pencil, 31.5 x 48.5. From Chatsworth Drawings IX, folio 80, item 117.

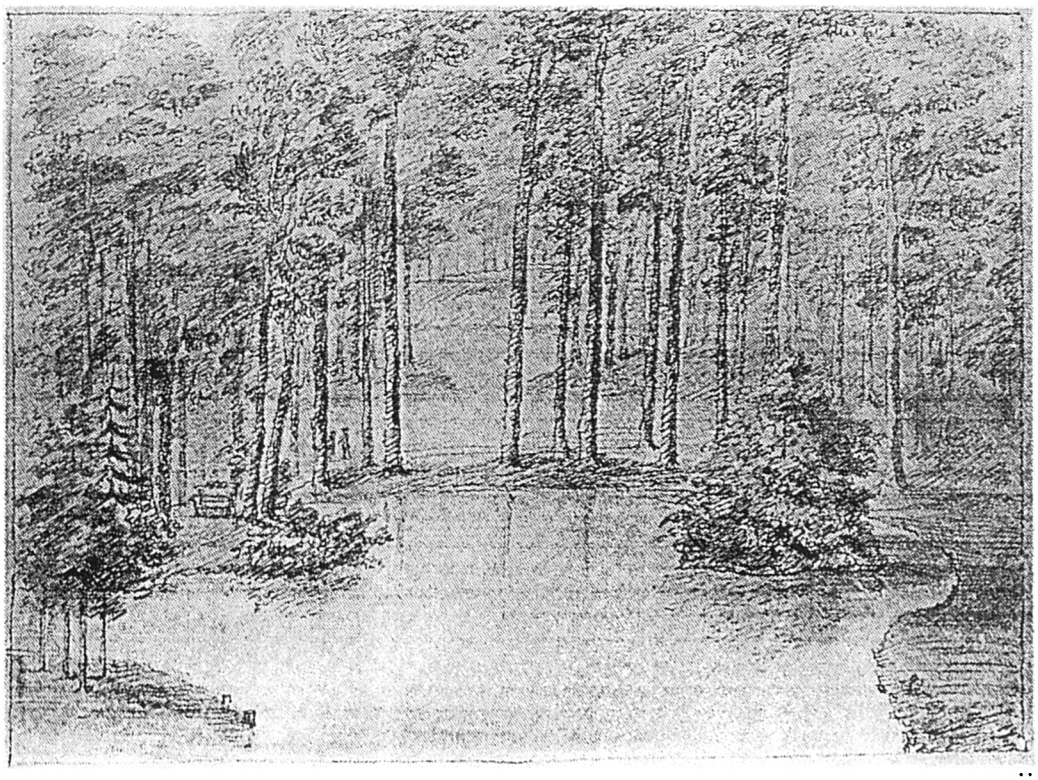

Fig. 113 Kent's drawing. Ponds in woodland groves. Pen and brown wash over pencil, 30.6 x 41.6. Chatsworth 26a, item 43.

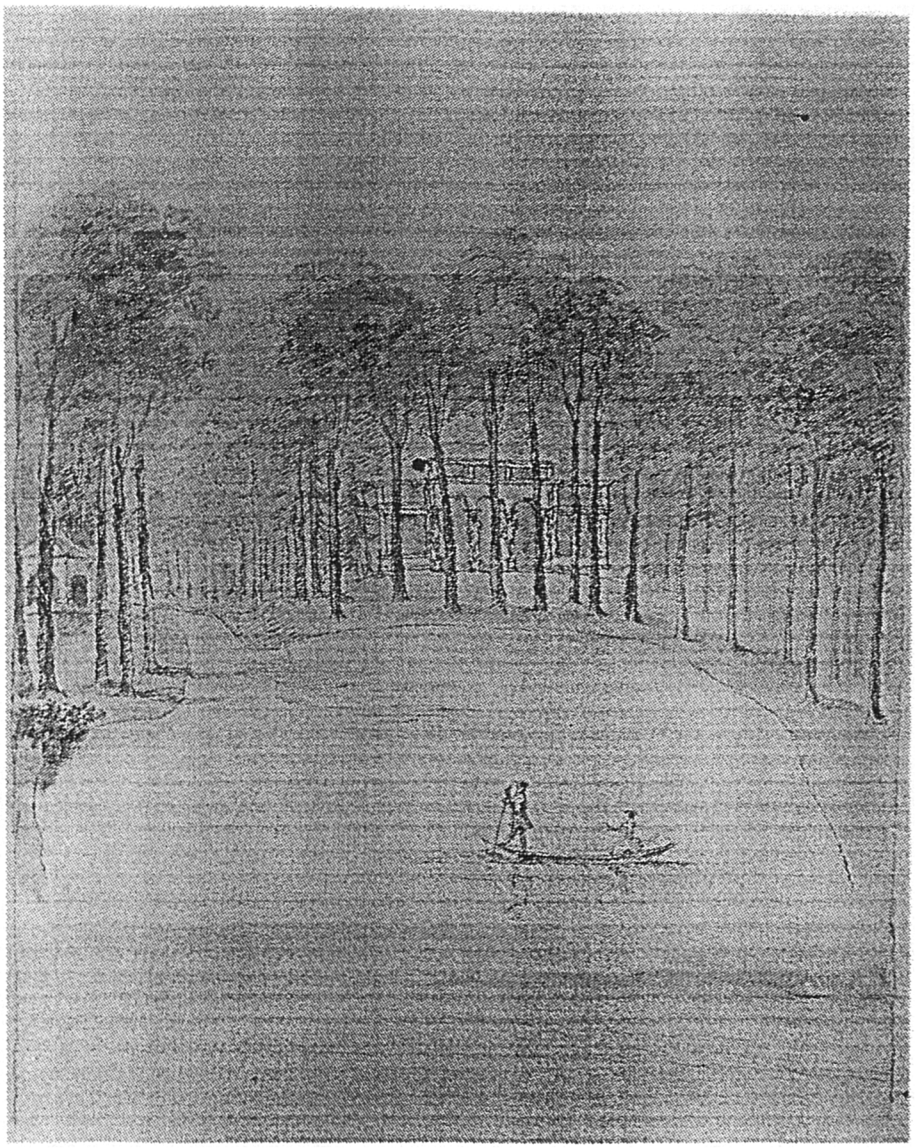

Fig. 114 Kent's drawing for Chiswick. Pen and brush wash over pencil. 27.6 x 22.7. Chatsworth 26a, item 71.

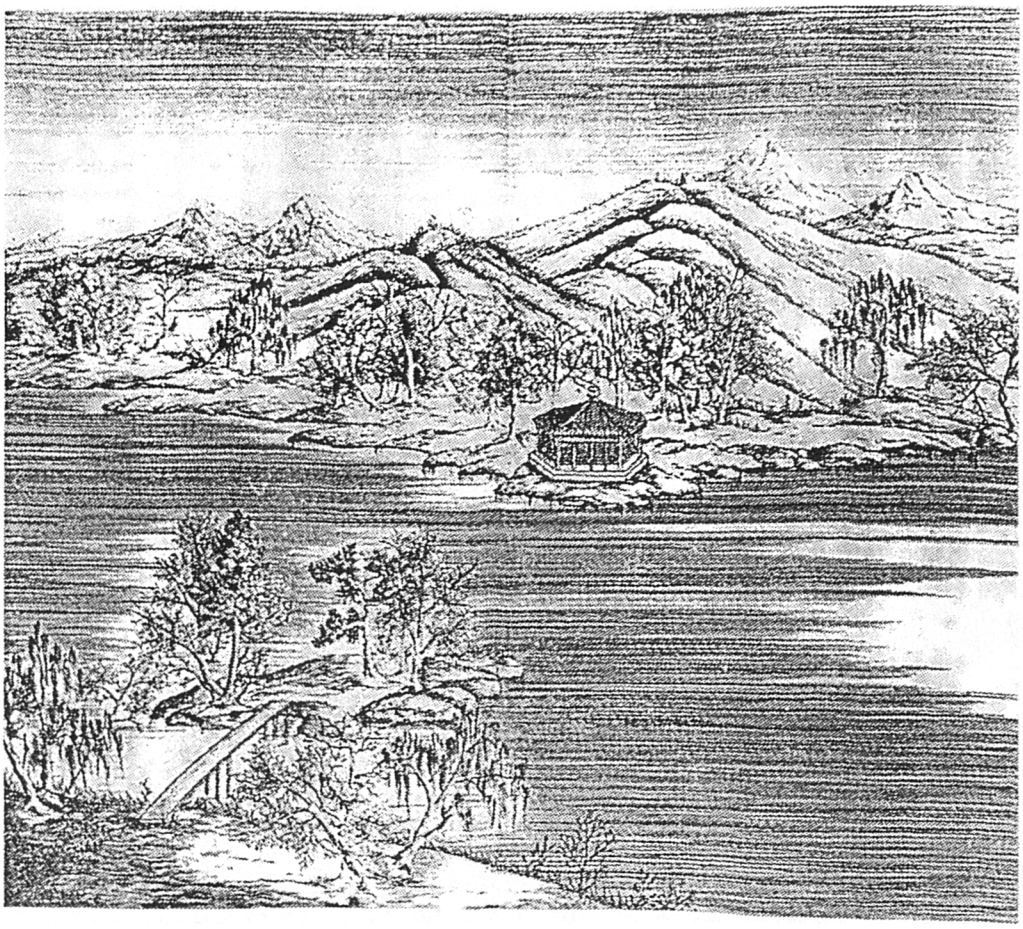

Fig. 115 F. Matteo Ripa's engraving, 1713

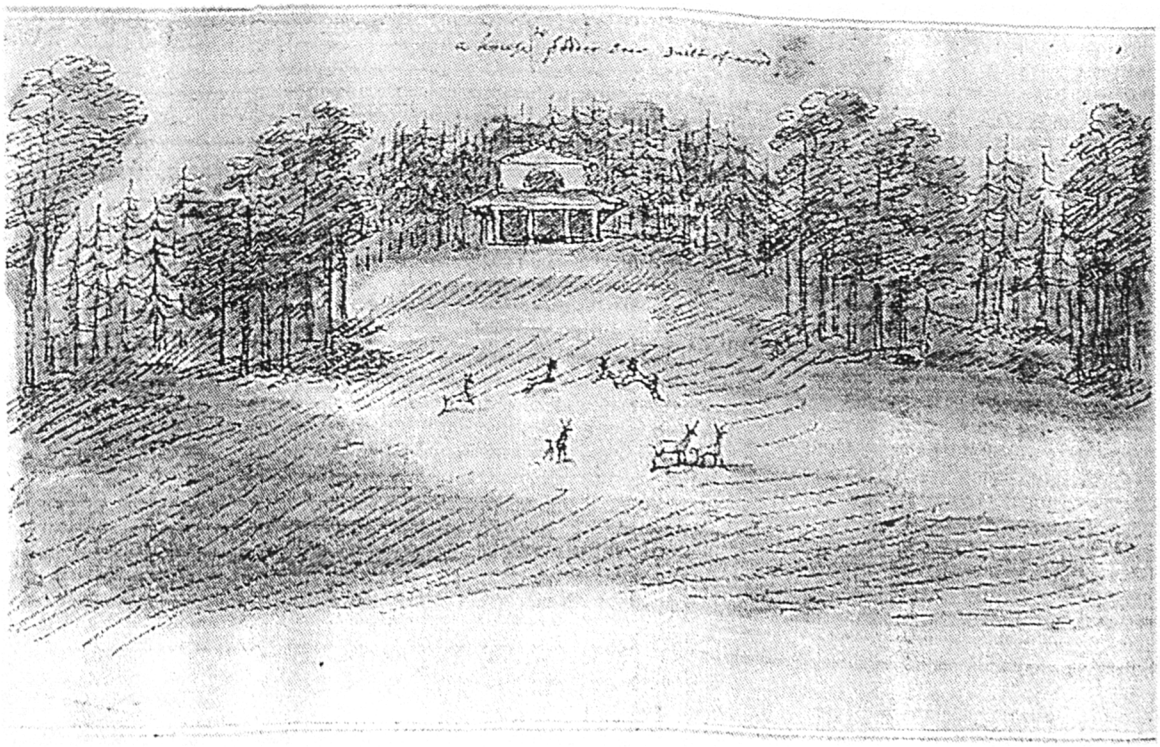

Fig. 116 Kent's drawing. Deer Park and House. Pen and wash, 27 x 39 , previously in the collection of Sir Bruce Ingram Bt.

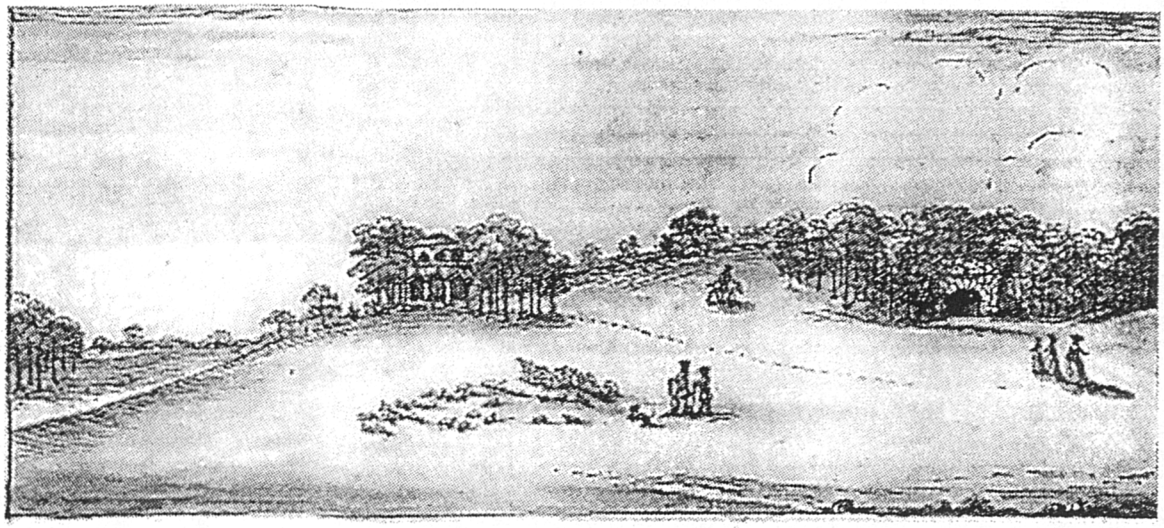

Fig. 117 Kent's drawing for Esher. Belvedere and grotto in landscape(before 1729). Pen, ink and wash, 30 x 43.6.

Fig. 118 Esher Place, Surrey, with Belvedere on the left. Engraved by Medland after Meheux, 1792. The position and shape of this pavilion proves that Kent saw Ripa's engravings. Compare with fig. 104-106.

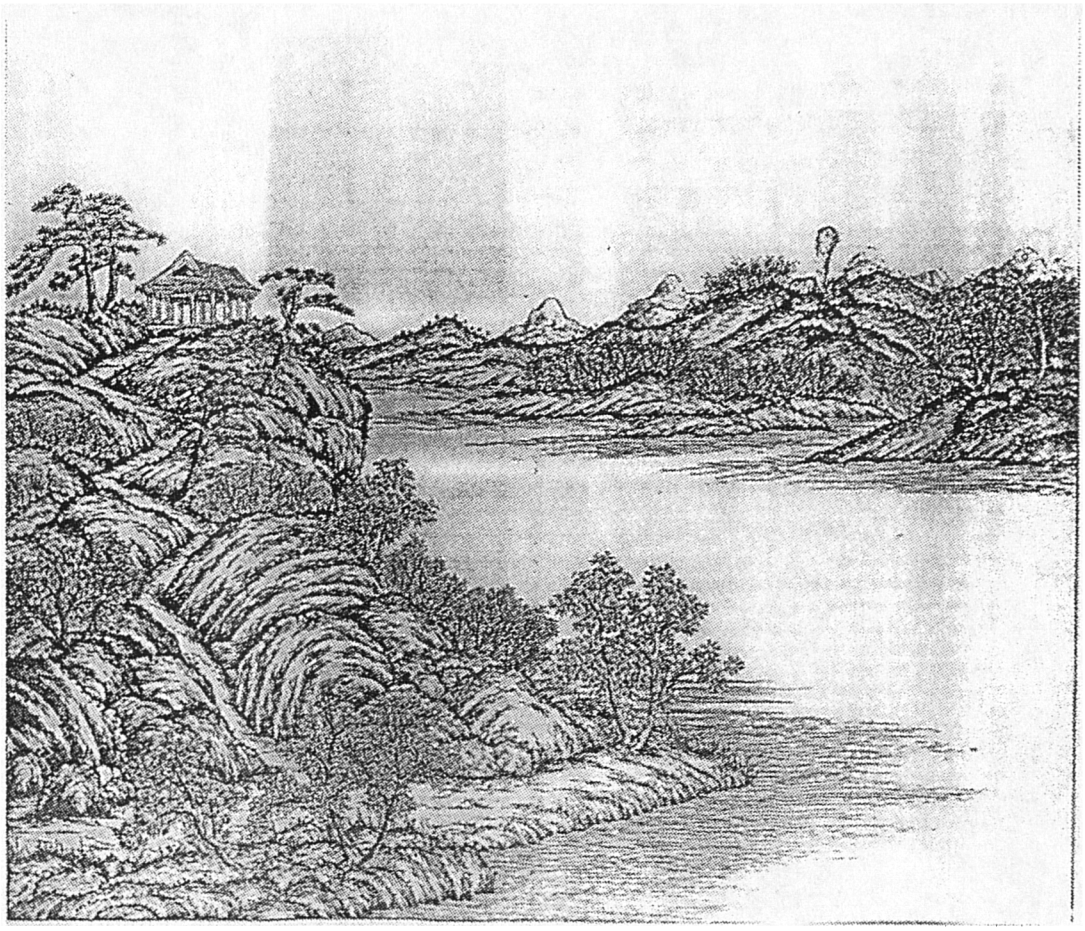

Fig. 119 F. Matteo Ripa's engraving, 1713

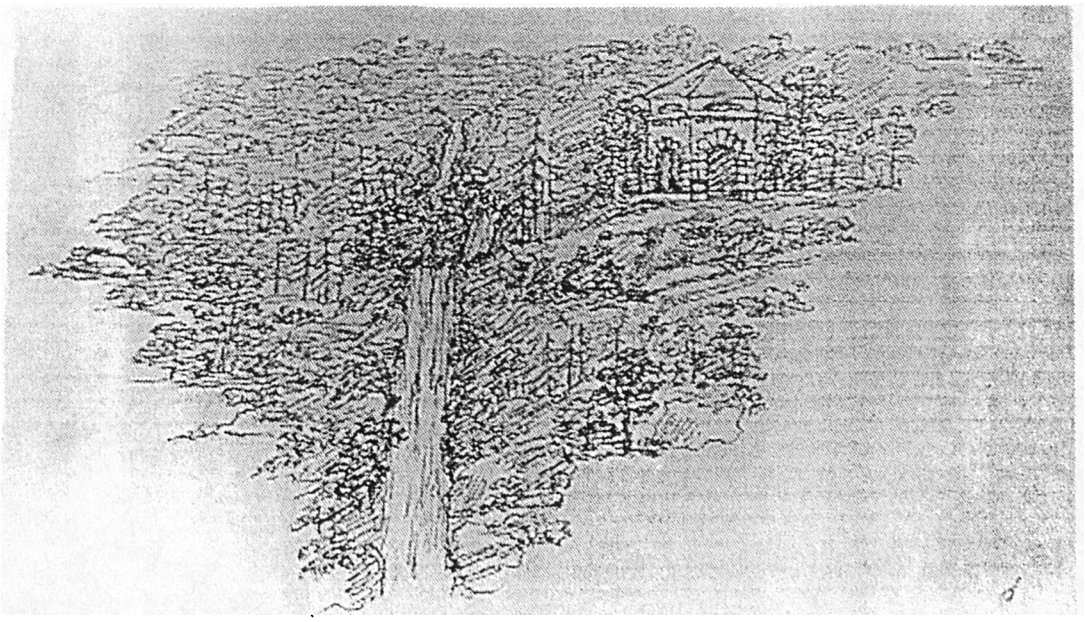

Fig. 120 Kent's drawing of octagonal or hexagonal pavilion on a wooded hillside beside a cascade. Pen and ink, 18 x 30. Chatsworth 26a, item 2.

Kent saw Ripa's engravings (Fig. 116, 117,118,120).

At Stowe, from 1734, Kent cleared away formal parterres around the house, cut out broad vistas to temples, and made the lake sinuous. He also designed temples, buildings and monuments which were meant to enrich the landscape and convey political and moral feelings. Here as at Rousham his most fascinating creation, Kent developed his capacity for working with perspective, light and shade, which he expressed in trees and bushes. Nearest the house the group of trees formed dense side scenes; farther off the clumps were more scattered and gardens were like pictures so that one way led on to a second view, then to a third one and so on. The visitor had to read a garden as a poem. Every monument, statue, inscription, carried a pointed significance and he had to walk through the garden enjoying the surprise of different vistas, feeling the sensation of being in the open country, and reflecting upon the variety of historical associations and classical allusions which the garden inspired. The pictorial compositions and the connected associations were the most essential features of Kent's gardens. His motto was "nature abhors straight lines" so in all the gardens he created until his death in 1748 (Chiswick, Stowe, Rousham, Claremont, Esher, Carlton House) there are no straight paths, no fountains but lakes with irregular banks or rivers which flow in a serpentine way, or gush through grotto-like rustic stone arches. Therefore it appears likely that Pope's and Kent's works have some theoretical fore-runners in Chinese doctrine that lays down their principles and that will always remain associated with the new concepts. Jean Jacques Rousseau, when he visited Stowe, noticed these similarities between Kent's garden and Chinese gardens and he wrote:

> Stowe est composé de lieux très beaux et très pittoresques dont les aspects ont été choisis en différens pays, et dont tout paroit naturel excepté l'assemblage, comme dans les jardins de la Chine dont je viens de vous parler. Le mâitre et le créateur de cette superbe solitude y a même fait construire des ruines, des temples, d'anciens édifices, et les temples ainsi que les lieux y sont rassemblé avec une magnificence plus qu'humaine...[54]

Moreover, Stowe, like the Chinese gardens, was designed to convey different moods. As William Gilpin wrote, in his Dialogue upon the gardens...at Stow (1748), Stowe was a place where:

> Men of all Humours ... will ... find something pleasing and suited to their Taste. The thoughtful may meet with retired Walks calculated in the best Manner for Contemplation: The gay and chearful may see Nature in her loveliest Dress, and meet Objects corresponding with their most lively Flights. The romantic Genius may entertain itself with several very beautiful Objects in its own Taste, and grow wild with Ideas of the inchanted kind. The disconsolate Lover may hide himself in shady Groves, or melancholy wander along the Banks of Lakes and Canals; where

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[54] quoted in J. M. Robinson, op. cit., p. 111.

> he may sigh to the gentle Zephyrs; mingle his Tears with the bubbling Water...[55]

In the Yuan Ye almost the same thing is stated. Referring to a certain garden we find "The path leads through a grove of bamboos towards a shady place or a solitary hut standing amid the pines. There one may listen to the melancholy sound of the water" and again "a small mountain can give rise to many effects, a small stone conjure up numerous feelings"[56]

Further evidence of Kent's disposition to the art of China is given by the presence (in an engraving of 1750) of a Chinese House near his Palladian Bridge at Stowe (Fig. 121). The house, first mentioned by an anonymous visitor at Stowe in 1738 and later described in detail in a letter written by Marchioness Grey to Lady Gregory)[57] has much in common with some of the simpler pavilions shown by Ripa (Fig. 105,119) In addition to this, a collection of Kent's drawings associated with Esher includes three designs for a Chinese temple.[58] (Fig. 122)

The appreciation of William Kent as the pioneer of landscape gardening and the derivation of his art from China was already recognized when he was still alive. In 1734 Sir Thomas Robinson wrote to his father-in-law Lord Carlisle:

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[55] William Gilpin, A Dialogue upon the Gardens of the Right Honourable the Lord Viscount Cobham at Stow in Buckinghamshire, London, 1748, p. 58.
[56] Oswald Sirén, Gardens of China, New York, 1950.
[57] 5 July 1748 Beds Record Office L30/9a/1 p. 165-71 in Gervase Jackson,"Sharawaggi rediscovered, The Chinese House at Stowe", in Apollo 1993, n. 137.
[58] J.Dixon Hunt, William Kent, landscape garden designer.An assessment and catalogue of his designs, Zwemmer, London, 1987, p. 159.

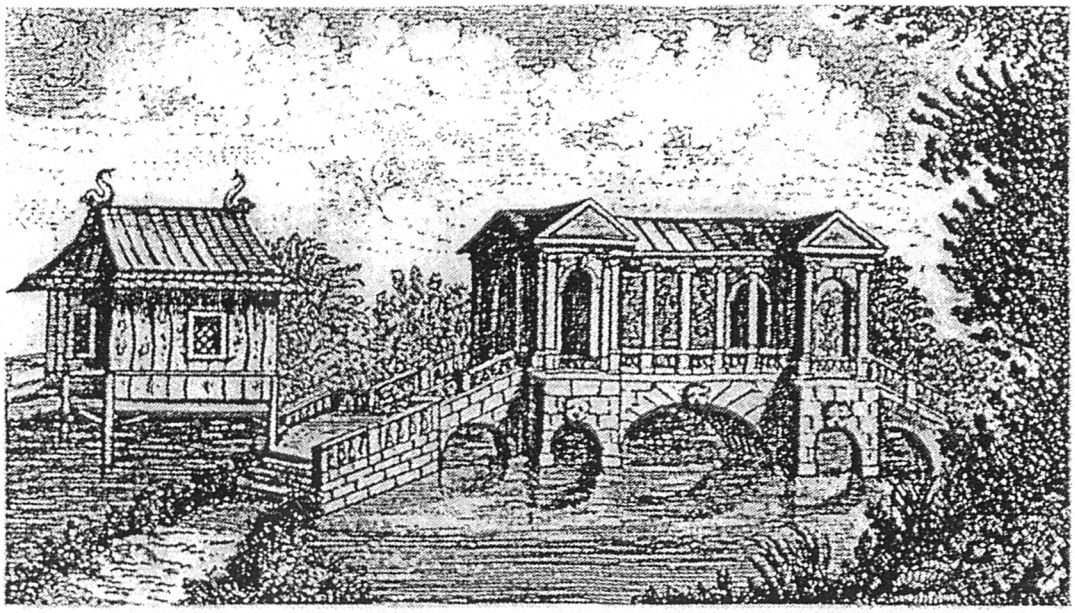

Fig. 121 The Palladian bridge and the Chinese House at Stowe. Engraving by Bickham, 1750.

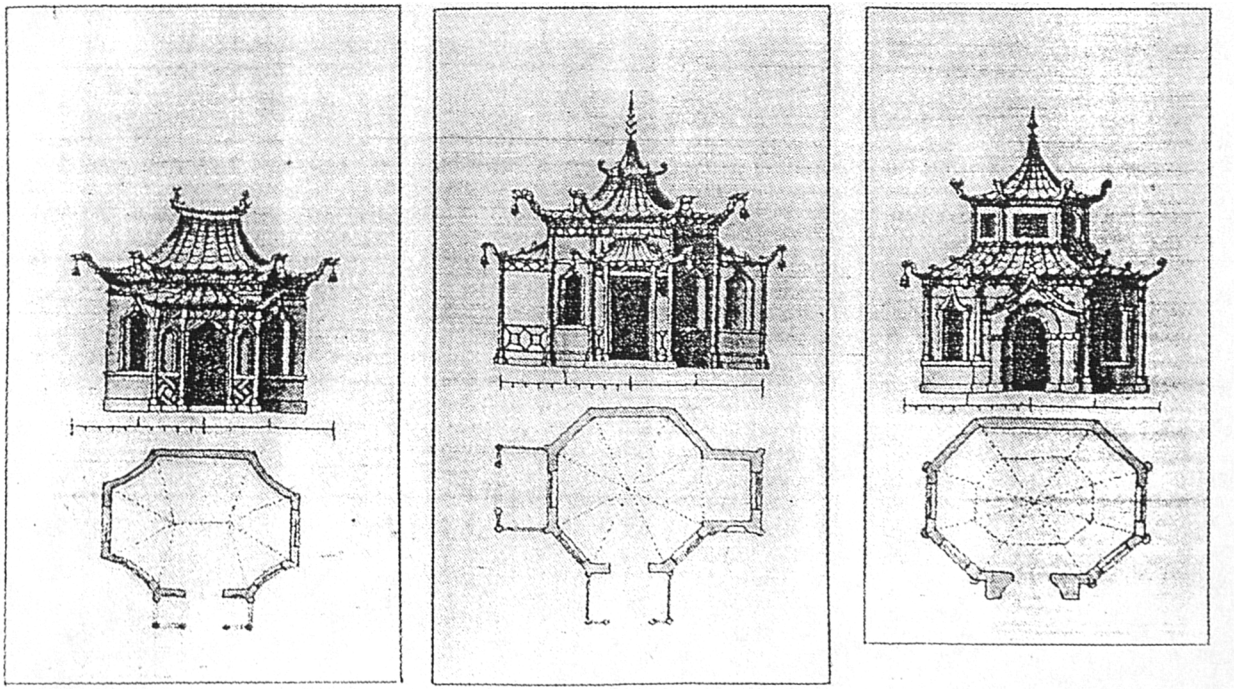

Fig. 122 Kent's drawing of a Chinese Temple probably for Esher. Pen and wash, 27.5 x 16.

> There is a new taste in gardening just arisen which has been practiced with so great success at the Prince's garden in Town (i.e., at Carlton) that a general alteration of some of the most considerable gardens in the Kingdom is begun, after Mr. Kent's notion, viz. to lay them out and work without level or line. By this means I really think the twelve acres the Prince's garden consists of, is more diversified and of greater variety than anything of that compass I ever saw, and this method of gardening is the more agreeable as, when finished, it has the appearance of beautiful nature, and without being told, one would imagine art had no part in the finishing, and is, according to what one knows of the Chinese, entirely after their models for works of this nature where they never plant straight lines or make regular designs. The celebrated gardens of Claremont, Chiswick and Stowe are now full of labourers to modernise the expensive works finished in them even since everyone's memory. If this grows a fashion, 'twill be happy for that class of people, as they will run no risk of having time lay on their hands.[59]

That such comparisons were becoming commonplaces is revealed by Philip Yorke, who visited the garden that John Aislabie had created at Studley Royal in September 1744. After recording Aislabie's intention to erect a Chinese building,

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[59] S.Lang, "The Genesis of the English Landscape Garden", in, The Picturesque Garden and its influence outside the British isles, Dumbarton Oaks, Washington D.C., 1974, p.25.

he described the valley which it would overlook : "One side is formed into a number of small terraces interspersed with rocks which makes a Chinese landscape.."[60](Fig. 123)

Isaac Ware's A Complete Body of Architecture, (1756) pays homage to the Chinese as creators of the landscape garden.[61] Horace Walpole, writing to Horace Mann in 1750, stated: "I am almost as fond of the Sharawaggi or Chinese want of symmetry in buildings as in grounds or gardens" and later in his main work On Modern Gardening (1771) even while he attacks some consequences of Chinoiserie, he agreed that Temple is right in stating that Chinese gardens are just as "whimsically irregular " as European gardens are "formally uniform".[62]

About the middle of the century other gardens were laid out by amateur landscape gardeners and literati and they show even more affinities with Chinese gardens. In all of them (Stourhead, Hagley, Leasowes, Painshill,) we find grotto-like constructions made of a kind of material strikingly like that used by Chinese on their gardens, and this was looked for on purpose to remind the beholder of the grottoes and mountains of Chinese gardens. In all of them picturesque variety was a main concern. The transition from one scene to another was often unexpected; from a pasture as smooth as a fine mown lawn one might stroll into a wood of big trees. A winding stream could suddenly come out from a hidden source or a rushing waterfall could flow down the sloping ground, a corner could suddenly

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[60] Philip Yorke, "Journal of What I Observed Most Remarkable in a Tour to the North", published in Bedfordshire Historical Record Society, Vol 47, 1968, p. 132.
[61] Isaac Ware, A Complete Body of Architecture, London, 1768, pp.645-646.
[62] I.W.U. Chase, Horace Walpole Gardenist, Princeton, 1943, p.21

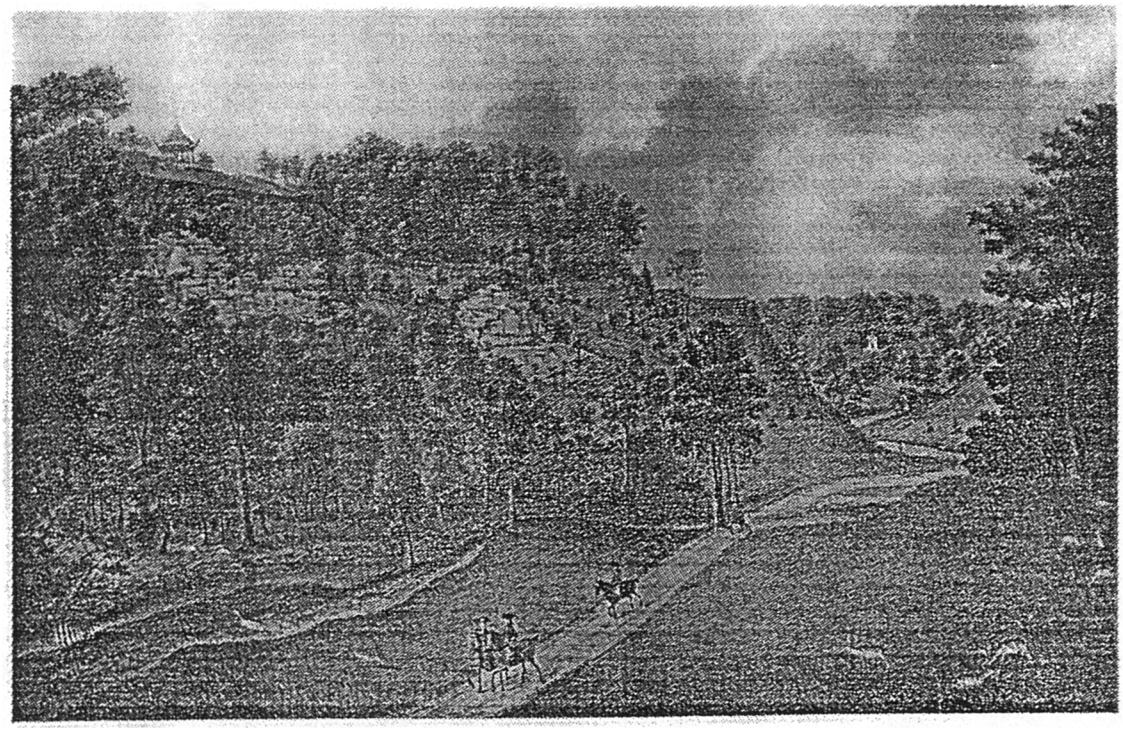

Fig. 123 Studley Royal one of the paintings attributed to Balthazar Nebot. It shows buildings and rocky scenery in what Philip Yorke saw as " a Chinese landscape".

turn to show an urn or obelisk. Hermitages, pavilions, alcoves and seats were spread all over the garden to increase the wealth of variety.

Even more striking is the resemblance noticed by Sirèn between some passages of Shenstone's work Unconnected Thoughts on Gardening (1764) and Chinese ideas. An example can be given here. Ground, wrote Shenstone, should first be considered with an eye to its peculiar character:

> whether it be the grand, the savage, the sprightly, the melancholy, the horrid, or the beautiful. As one or other of these characters prevail, one may somewhat strengthen its effect by allowing every part some denomination and then supporting its title by suitable appendages.[63]

Each Chinese garden has sections like this, given a different name according to the general feeling it conveys: "The Garden of Quietness" at Wuxi, "The Garden of Delight", "The Garden of the Unsuccessful Politician" in Soochow. These parts of the garden have their names written on boards placed in front of a Pavilion or Gazebo, the purpose of these inscriptions being to help the visitor in understanding and enjoying the garden. In "The Garden of the Unsuccessful Politician" for example, there are inscriptions like: "The Dreamy Tower", "The Place of Clear Meditation", "The Elevation for Remote Thought", "The Bower of Nature", "The Place for Listening to the Sighing Pines",...[64] As we have seen the

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[63] William Shenstone, Unconnected Thoughts on Gardening, London, 1764, vol. II, p.127.
[64] Chen Cong Zhoo,op. cit, p. 20-25.

same "themed zones" were also present at Rousham, where each part of the garden offered the visitor a different, sometimes contrasting idea to reflect upon.

However, Chinese influence in the eighteenth century was not confined only to England nor to gardens. It provided material for those who were beginning to rebel against revealed religion and for those who believed in an enlightened moral government.

Intellectual Contacts between China and Europe in the Eighteenth Century

The knowledge of China as the land of silk in the Far East goes back to the times of the Roman emperors. Trade connections never ceased at any time. Through Marco Polo's accounts of his travels 1272-1293, we have a description of the thirteenth century Cathay, the rich and wondrous land of the East, which Columbus tried later to reach from the sea[65]. The medieval travel literature cannot be left without mentioning the account of Sir John Mandeville, published in England in 1499, which together with Marco Polo's narrative stimulated the first real interest in China.

The landing of the Portuguese in China in 1515 brought a great change, stimulating a new interest in strange countries and their inhabitants and a demand for their products. Porcelain, silk, lacquer-work and many other precious goods were imported from China. The Europeans admired the arts and crafts of this country for their bizarre forms.[66] In the sixteenth century the Portuguese were the masters of the East Asiatic trade, in the seventeenth century the Dutch and in the eighteenth the English. There are few influential accounts of the travellers of the sixteenth. One of the earliest was written by a Portuguese called Galeote Pereira, who had been a prisoner in South China from 1549 to 1552. This account is remarkable for being the first description of Chinese justice and prison conditions

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[65] It is now however disputed that Marco Polo ever went to China.

[66] Adolf Reichwein, China and Europe. Intellectual and Artistic Contacts in the Eighteenth Century , New York, Atheneum, 1925, pp. 15-22.

to penetrate to Europe. A countryman of Pereira who was in China in 1556, Gaspar da Cruz, consequently wrote Tractado em que contam muito por estenso as cousas da China (Evora 1569), the first book devoted to China to be printed in Europe, and also one of the most remarkable books to have been written about China, for as Dawson remarks: "Cruz had many observations on Chinese life and customs which anticipate those of the later Jesuit writers who are usually credited with first revealing China to Europe".[67] This extract demonstrates how this Portuguese was already impressed by the gardens of this country:

> The houses of the magistrates in the principal cities, before one reaches where these magistrates are, have two very wide and long courts, each one of which would be about the size of a large horserace. In these courts are planted very fresh gardens, wherein are many fruit trees; and there are high galleries in the middle, through which the magistrates walk ... within this enclosure, he has very fresh and large gardens, with many fruit trees, and with great ponds ... He has there borders of all kinds of small flowers, and pink and scented herbs, and within he has groves of wild trees, where he keeps many deer and wild boars and other beasts of the chase.[68]

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[67] R. Dawson, The Chinese Chameleon. An Analysis of European Conceptions of Chinese Civilisation, Oxford, 1967, p. 29.
[68] Ibid p.182.

The Spaniard, Martin de Rada, who visited China in 1575, was a learned man and anticipated the Jesuits in the systematic acquisition and study of Chinese books. In his description of China he deals with the history, manners, customs of the kingdom, the agriculture and industry, justice and government, concluding with the religion.[69] All these works provided the basic material for Mendoza's book Historia de las cosas mas notables, ritos y costumbres del gran reyno de la China (Rome 1585). It was translated in English and edited with the title The History...of China in 1588. Writers such as Walter Raleigh, Francis Bacon and Burton derived their knowledge about China almost exclusively from its pages.[70]

In 1636 there was an English expedition under the command of John Weddwell. A narrative of the expedition was compiled by Peter Mundy, and an extract of this report provides a synopsis of what one of the first group of Englishmen to visit China found most noteworthy about the country. Like other sixteenth-century travellers he praised the good government and was impressed by the wealth and prosperity of this country, but he also mentioned the arts:

> This Countrie May be said to excell in these particulers: Antiquity, largeness, Ritchness, healthyness, Plentifulnesse. For Arts and manner off government I thinck noe Kingdome in the world Comparable to it Considered alltogether. [71]

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[69] Ibid p. 28.
[70] T.Burton, The Anatomy of Melancholy, Oxford, Clarendon, 1989, Vol. I p. 87, 102, pp. 104-5, 115-116; Walter Raleigh, The History of the World, in Works, Oxford, 1829, Book I, Ch. VII, p.218-29; Francis Bacon, Opera Omnia, London, 1730, Ch.I 142, 159, 387, II 137, 237, III 69, 382.
[71] William W. Appleton, A cycle of Cathay, New York, 1951, p.16.

Sixteenth-century European visitors to China, despite their skill as observers, were unable to penetrate beyond the outward manifestations of order and prosperity. But at the beginning of the seventeenth century the Jesuits sailed East and for two hundred years they swamped Europe with quantities of letters, documents, books, which made European acquainted also with the richness of Chinese ancient culture and traditions.[72]

The work of the Jesuits was marked by splendid scholarship. They impressed even Chinese scholars and officials with their learning and their scientific apparatus and accomplishments. They translated Chinese works into Latin and the vernacular languages of Europe. The founder, in 1583, of the first Jesuit mission in China, had been Matteo Ricci. He set about learning Chinese and reading Chinese classics. Ricci kept a diary which, after his death was translated from the original Italian into Latin by another missionary, Trigault, who had spent a number of years in the empire. The book The History of the Christian expedition to China was published in 1615 and excerpts were included in Purchas his Pilgrims in 1625. For the first time Europe was given an account of the Chinese systems of moral and religious thought and for the first time it heard of the great Confucius and his classical writings.

At about the same period other books were published. The volumes written by Alvarez Semedo translated into English as The History of that great and renowned monarchy of China in 1655, and Athanasius Kircher published

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[72] Arnold H. Rowbotham, Missionary and Mandarin, Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1942, pp.241-261.

China illustrata in 1670. They showed the same degree of sympathy and admiration for Chinese institutions.

> Cet État est gouverné par les Doctes, à la mode des Platoniciens et selon le désire du Philosophe divin: en quoy j'estime ce Royaume heureux, lequel a un Roy qui peut philosipher ou qui souffre du moins qu'un philosophe le gouverne et le conduit.[73]

So from 1615 on thanks to these first works of the Jesuits, China began to be represented as a model of peaceful and stable government, and superior morality. Many of these missionaries' reports repeated that in China, too, the highest offices were open to everyone without regard to their rank or connections.[74] People had to be examined according to their skills and personality by an appointed commission before being employed in public offices. China began to be considered as a country governed by "philosophers"[75] and by the seventeenth century there was available a remarkable literature on Chinese culture and thought.

One of the first to be fascinated by Chinese institutions in England, was John Webb, who wrote an essay in 1669 in which he suggested to Charles II that he should imitate the ancient Chinese emperors[76]. At the same time the Royal

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[73] Athanasius Kircher, China Illustrata, 1670, French tr. p. 226.
[74] R. Dawson, op.cit., p.35.
[75] Lewis A. Maverick ,China a model for Europe, San Antonio, Texas, 1946, p.1.
[76] Ch'en Shou-Yi, "John Webb: A Forgotten Page in the Early History of Sinology in Europe", in Chinese Social and Political Science Review, vol. 19, 1935-36, pp.295-330.

Society turned its attention to China. Robert Hook, a member, read a paper to the Royal Society (n. 18O Vol. XVI of the Philosophical Transactions 1686) which was entirely devoted to Chinese language. But the publication in 1687 of the book Confucius Sinarum philosophus encouraged even more the general appraisal of Chinese society. This contained the wisdom of Confucian doctrine (it included Ta Hsueh, Great Learning, Lun Yu, Analects, Chung Yung, Doctrine of the Mean), and was written by a group of Jesuits, under the leadership of Father Intorcetta. Several translation were made from Latin to the vernacular languages, including English.

The publication of this translation was stimulating to Europeans. In France a condensed French version was published in 1688 with the title La morale de Confucius, Philosophe de la China, and the same year Simon Foucher published a book called Lettre sur la morale de Confucius in which the Chinese sage is compared not only with Socrates and Plato, but also with S.Paul, and in which he is described as a prophet of ancient truth.

No less important for arousing interest in China than these translations was an historical treatise published in 1696, Nouveaux Mémoires sur l'État présent de la Chine. (An English translation appeared the following year). The author, Father Le Comte, expressed his admiration for the Confucian system : "The people of China have preserved for about two thousand years the knowledge of the True God and have honoured Him in such a manner as to serve as an example and model even for Christians".[77] In his book he reported too on the

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[77] R.Dawson, op. cit., p.54.

Chinese attitude towards domestic and foreign trade, the system of taxes and the Natural Order:

> The Chinese are set against tyranny and oppression, which they say proceeds not from the absoluteness of the Princes' power, for they cannot be too much their subjects' master; but from the Princes' own wildness, which neither the Voice of Nature nor the Laws of God can ever countenance ... An unbounded Authority which the Laws give the Emperor, and a necessity which the same Laws lay upon him to use that Authority with moderation and discretion, are the Props which have for so many ages supported this great Fabrick of the Chinese Monarchy.[78]

These works came at a critical period of European thought, and fed into the general contemporary dissatisfaction with moral and social conditions and the desire to find in foreign lands a model for amelioration of these conditions. After the great Age of Discovery, old and respected traditions and doctrines were being questioned by men who had begun to read of virtuous and brilliant civilisation from various parts of the world, while authors of books on the New World were beginning to evolve the literary tradition of the "noble savage".

At the very same time reform was in the air as people were fed up with the wars of religion and the doctrinal controversies of the Church. The evidence of a

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[78] L.A.Maverick, op cit, p.17.

great ancient civilisation which for perhaps four thousand years had had a firm system of private and public morals suggested that the Church did not have a monopoly of virtue and gave strength to the new learning, the deism which was hostile to the basic dogmas of Christianity and denied the importance of revelation for a natural religion. This awareness of a wonderful civilisation had a powerful effect not only on religion but also on political thought. As we have seen, China was portrayed by these missionaries as a model of humane and enlightened despotism, a society free from privileges of caste, nobility and Church, ruled through a bureaucracy of scholar-officials. A system so lacking in hereditary privilege and such a benevolent despotism certainly struck those European constitutionalists who increasingly wanted to impose a legal limitation upon the power of the king and nobility. Hence the ideas of Confucius appealed to many European intellectuals of the eighteenth century including Leibniz. His doctrine of Monads coincides in many parts with Chinese philosophy[79].

According to Confucianism the cosmic order of the world was considered fixed and inviolate and the order of society was a part of this order. The great spirits of the cosmic orders desired the happiness of the world and of the man. This happiness could be reached only if man fitted himself into the harmonious cosmos. Thus the right path to salvation consisted in the adjustment to the eternal and supra-divine orders of the world, the Tao, hence to the requirements of social life which followed from cosmic harmony.[80] The education of the individual was considered very important as it helped to develop the self from one's natural

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[79] Adolf Reichwein, op. cit., pp. 24-26.
[80] Max Weber, The Religion of China, New York, 1968.

endowment and to understand the rules and conventions he had to follow to adjust himself to the Tao of the world.

Leibniz's ideas of a "prestablished harmony" are like those of the Chinese doctrine.[81] Leibniz also believed, like Confucius, in the world of reality as a unity, as a continuously rising scale of spiritual beings developing progressively. For Leibniz, as for the Chinese sage, the essential service of the religion is the creation of knowledge, and its aim is the education for socially useful actions. Leibniz was the most influential representative for the ethical importance of Confucian thought. In 1697 he published Novissima Sinica. In the introduction he wrote that China was superior to Europe in practical philosophy and political morality and he suggested that Chinese missionaries should be sent to Europe to teach the practice and aim of natural theology. Because of the author's eminence this work attracted widespread attention. His disciple Christian Wolff, a professor of theology at Halle in France, lost his position by proclaiming in 1721, during a lecture, that the moral doctrine of Confucius was in agreement with natural morality as it represented the teaching of the ethical power of natural reason. He also praised the Chinese school system as it trained the individual to the government of the self through the power of reason. This seemed to him the ideal education because it followed the natural laws of the human spirit which guided man to virtuous actions.

In France there were other intellectuals enthusiastic about Confucian teachings, but, before mentioning them, we must quote two books which were

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[81] Louis Couturat, La logique de Leibniz, Paris 1901, Ch.III; Donald F. Lach, "Leibniz and China", Journal of the History of Ideas, IV, n. 4, October 1945, pp. 437-455.

very influential on thinkers of the middle and late eighteenth century. These are: Lettres édifiantes et curieuses écrites des Missions étrangères which began to come out in 1702 until 1776 and offered useful information based upon direct observation; and Père du Halde's Description géographique, historique, chronologique, politique et physique de l'Empire de la Chine et de la Tartarie chinoise which was published in 1735 and quickly translated into English and German. This work contained a further account of the Confucian classics (Tu Hsüeh, Chung Yung, Shu Ching) and an interesting condensation of the Book of Mencius. In this work there are also brief translations from Chinese poetry and proverbs and a translation by Father Prémare of a Yuan dynasty drama, The Orphan of the House of Chao which inspired Voltaire in one of his most famous plays L'Orphelin de la Chine. Voltaire also used the example of Chinese philosophy in his struggle against the government and the Roman Catholic hierarchy in France. This is demonstrated in his Essai sur les moeurs and his several articles in his Philosophical dictionary where he praises Chinese economics, politics and morality.

In France, again, in the period between 1739 and 1764 a series of Lettres chinoises was published. Their purpose was to criticize European institutions employing the literary device of imaginary travellers from China to Europe who commented on western institutions. Writers who did this included : De Boyer[82] the Marquis d'Argens,[83] and Montesquieu in his Persian Lettres (1721). By 1750 then, the culture of the Chinese empire had left its imprint upon religion,

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[82] Lettres Chinoises, 1739.
[83] Ibid.

philosophy, economics and theories of government. It is also clear that there was a general critical European awareness of Chinese thought and ideas.

In England Confucian philosophy appealed to both orthodox and heterodox thinkers. Its materialism appealed to the English deists.[84] Its pious conformism with the fixed order of secular power and his emphasis on decorum could have appealed to those who believed in the seventeenth century cult of moderation.[85]

The Confucian ideal man was the "gentleman" and the cardinal virtue and goal in self-perfection was watchful and rational self-control. So this rule of the Golden Mean with its praise of the "superior man" who can master the opportunities of this world through self-control could have supplied the philosophical prototype for that theory of deportment which was being preached in England in the latter half of the century.

The English "gentleman" was that person of no particular occupation (someone living off landed rents, someone with a country estate) often connected with the peerage by birth and marriage. A man of comprehensive understanding, good breeding, proper taste, who had to behave according to a certain code of etiquette, whose most important values were restraint and decorum. These values carried with them by implication a disapproval of spontaneity and the free play of emotion. Steele in a passage from The Guardian (1713) gives us a detailed description of the "gentleman".

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[84] Arnold H. Rowbotham, op. cit., p.250.
[85] W.W.Appleton, op. cit., pp. 39-45.

> When I consider the Frame of Mind peculiar to a Gentleman, I suppose it graced with all the Dignity and Elevation of Spirit that human Nature is capable of: To this I would have joined a clear Understanding, a Reason free from Prejudice, a steady Judgment, and an extensive Knowledge. When I think of the Heart of a Gentleman, I imagine it firm and intrepid, cold of all inordinate Passions, and full of Tenderness, Compassion, and Benevolence. When I view the fine Gentleman with regard to his Manners, methinks I see him modest without Bashfulness, frank and affable without Impertinence, obliging and complaisant without Servility, chearful and in good Humour without Noise. These amiable Qualities are not easily obtained; neither are there many Men that have a Genius to excel this Way. A finish Gentleman is perhaps the most uncommon of all the great Characters in Life. Besides the natural Endowments with which this distinguished Man is to be born, he must run through a long Series of Education. Before he makes his Appearance and shines in the World, he must be principled in Religion, instructed in all the moral Virtues and led through the whole Course of the polite Arts and Science...[86]

Chinese religion, which was known to Europeans through the accounts of missionaries, was held as an example by some English deists. The most

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[86] John Barrell, English Literature in History 1730-80, London, 1983, p. 37.

enthusiastic of them was Matthew Tindal. In 1731, he wrote Christianity as Old as Creation, which asserts that God has given man sufficient means of knowing whatever He requires and should therefore observe those duties to both God and Humanity which reason dictates. So high was Tindal's esteem of the Confucian moral code that he wrote:" I am so far from thinking the maxims of Confucius and Jesus Christ to differ that I think the plain and simple maxims of the former will help to illustrate the more obscure ones of the latter".[87] The other famous deist John Toland addressed this subject in his treatise Adeisaedaemon (1709), where he advised on how to arrive at the true esoteric philosophy - that is the notion that God and Nature are One - and praised the Chinese mandarins for their natural religion comparing it to pantheism.[88]

Another Cambridge Platonist with an interest in Chinese philosophy and theology was Andrew Michael Ramsay, a Platonic mystic and member of the Royal Society. In his first work on ancient theology, The Travels of Cyrus (1727) and in his other important text The Philosophical Principles of Natural and Revealed Religion (1749), the Chinese played a crucial role in supporting his argument in defence of the Ancient esoteric Pagan religions. The latter work contains a fine study of Chinese philosophy of religion illustrated with copious quotations from the Five Classics of the Confucian Canon. He showed the resemblances between the Chinese view and the doctrine of the Old Testament and came to the conclusion that the Chinese classics represent God as an eternal

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[87] Matthew Tindal, Christianity as Old as Creation, Newburgh, 1798, p. 296.
[88] John Toland, Adeisaedaemon. Sive Titus Livius a superstitione vindicatus. Annexae sunt ejusdem Origines Judaicae, The Hague, 1709, quoted in Margaret C. Jacob, The Radical Enlightenment: Pantheists, Freemasons and Republicans, London, 1981, p. 107.

incorporeal one, almost an animated subtle matter near to the Neoplatonic and Hermetic spirit of the world.[89] Thus, even if it was less widespread and profound, the sinophile cult played an identical role in the emancipation of English thought as the vision of classical antiquity. The Enlightenment freethinkers who seized upon the pagan naturalism of the Renaissance to find a powerful justification for a pantheistic and materialistic explanation of the mechanical Universe, found also supporting evidence of the same natural religion and morality in missionaries reports of Chinese culture. It is hardly surprising that the enthusiasts of this sinophile cult should have striven to find comparison between the two great pagan systems: that of Plato and Confucius as expressed in the following lines by one of its proponents: "If Plato were to rise from Hades he would find his ideal republic realized in China."[90]

In his famous book, Anecdotes, Observations and Characters of Books and Men (1730-1732), Joseph Spence dedicated some passages to China, referring in Section II to a treatise written by M. Fouquet where the latter explains Chinese philosophy of nature called Taoism and to another work entitled : The Temple of the Most Ancient Wisdom, written by the same author which discusses Chinese "mystic" books.[91] Spence's close friend, Alexander Pope in his Temple of Fame (1715) also shows an admiration for Confucius. On the eastern front of the Temple:

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[89] Michael Ramsay, Philosophical Principles of Natural Revealed Religion, London, 1749, II, pp. 57-59; 123-124; 138, 185; The Travels of Cyrus, London, 1727, p. 71.

[90] Arnold H. Rowbotham, "The Impact of Confucianism in Seventeenth Century Europe", Far Eastern Quarterly, vol. IV, May 1945, pp.224-42.

[91] Ch'ien Chung Shu, "China and the English Literature of the Eighteenth Century," Quarterly Bulletin of Chinese Bibliography, , Vol. 1-4, March-Dec 1945, pp.6-27.

Superior and alone, Confucius stood,

Who taught that useful science, to be good..[92]

What eighteenth-century English intellectuals - who were preoccupied with secular ethics - found most admirable in the Confucian system was the foundation of government on moral basis. China became the land of their dreams, which they could exalt while criticizing or satirizing their own affairs, social, political as well as religious. As a consequence, many members of the Opposition made use of Chinese material to criticize Walpole's administration.

William Temple not only admired Chinese gardens. In the essay Of Heroic Virtue (1683), he tried to summarize the teachings of Confucius, emphasizing his insistence on civic virtue. He gave an exposition of Chinese education and government, noting the connection between them: the learned and good were the rulers. He then concludes his work with a warm praise of this Oriental system affirming that: "No people are better governed, nor with greater felicity than the Chinese..".[93] Eustace Budgell, a close friend of Addison, was likewise an admirer of Chinese government. He issued a weekly pamphlet called the *Bee* in 1733 (directed against the Walpole administration) where he printed a number of articles relating to China, which he portrayed as an ideal commonwealth. In his Letter to Cleamens, King of Sparta (1731), he maintained that every post of honour or

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[92] Alexander Pope, The Temple of Fame, London 1715, ll. 107-8.
[93] William Temple, Essay on Heroic Virtue, in The Works of Sir William Temple, London, 1814, Vol. III, p. 342.

profit should be made the reward of real merit as he thought was done in China. Thus he says:

> If any modern Politician should take into his Head that this Maxim, however excellent in itself, cannot possibly be observ'd in so large and popolous a Kingdom as Great Britain; I beg leave to inform such a Politician, that at this very Time, this glorious Maxim is most strictly follow'd and observ'd in the *Largest,* the most *populous*, and the *best Governed* Empire in all the World: I mean in China.[94]

The example of China, then, supplied a ready means of satirising the corruption of Walpole. In Common Sense (founded in 1737 by Lord Lyttelton[95] and Lord Chesterfield), Lord Chesterfield wrote a paper on the rat in a wooden statue, a story taken from Du Halde's Description de la Chine. The moral was: when a worthless man (Walpole) has gained the favour of a prince (George I) he is as harmful as a rat in a wooden statue; one cannot attack him without causing displeasure to the prince as one cannnot kill the rat without destroying the statue:

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[94] Eustace Budgell, Letter to Cleamens, King of Sparta, 1731, p. 91, quoted in Tsen Chung Fan, "Chinese fables and anti-Walpole Journalism" in Review of English Studies, vol. XXV, n. 98, April, 1949, pp.141-151.

[95] Lord Lyttelton translated in 1735 Montesquieu's Persian Letters as Letters from a Persian in England. The same device was used by Horace Walpole in 1757 to criticize English insitutions in his work Letters from Xo-Ho a Chinese Philosopher at London to his friend Lieu Chi in Peking.

> The Parallel drawn between the Emperor and a wooden statue is so disrespectful and uncourtly, that I could have wish'd our Author had infom'd us how the *Chinese* Majesty relish'd the Similitude; that is , in case he took all the force of it; for in reality, it was making no difference between the *anointed Head* and a *wooden one*. A rat may very well eat his way into a Statue unseen, unfelt, and unsmelt: But can a Minister, especially such a one as is here describ'd, without Virtue or Merit, nibble himself into his Prince's favour, and the Prince not *smell a Rat* ? It is impossible; and the Supposition of it was injurious to his Royal Wisdom and Penetration.[96]

Lord Chesterfield wrote also for Daily Gazetteer, Fogg's Weekly Journal and the Craftsman.[97] In this last journal, especially, Bolingbroke and the two Pulteneys joined forces to carry on a journalistic war against Walpole. The edition numbered 683 (20 October 1739) contains an eulogy of the Chinese system of public censorship, the author considers this system worthy of imitation in England especially when the head of the state is a tyrant or when he is surrounded by corrupted ministers. This was clearly a coded attack against Whig ministers who were made responsible for all the corruptions of the state.[98]

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[96] Reprinted in Gentleman's Magazine, 1737, VII, pp. 295-6, and in Miscellaneous Works of Chesterfield, 1777, II, pp.42-6.
[97] Tsen Chung Fan, op. cit., p. 143.
[98] Ibid., p. 145.

Bolingbroke expanded on what might be learned from China in his : Letters on the Study and Use of History:

> There is a monarchy, an absolute monarchy too, I mean that of China, where in the administration of the government is carried on, under the direction of the prince, ever since the dominion of the Tartars has been established by several classes of Mandarins, and according to the deliberation and advice of several orders of councils the admission to which classes and orders depends on the abilities of the candidates, as their rise in them depends on the behaviour they hold and the improvements they make afterwards. Under such a government it is neither impertinent nor ridiculous in any of the subjects who are invited by the circumstances or pushed to it by their talents, to make the history of their own and of other countries a political study, and to fit themselves by this and all other ways for the service of the public. It is not dangerous neither, or an honor that outweighs the danger attends it: since private men have right by the ancient constitution of this government as well as council of state, to represent to the prince the abuses of his administration....[99]

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[99] Henry St. John Viscount Bolingbroke, Letters on the Study and Use of History, Vol. 1-2, London 1752, p.190-1.

These ideas were common. William Hutchett's tragedy, The Chinese Orphan (1741) taken from Du Halde's Description of China was an anti-Walpole pamphlet. In a dedication to the Duke of Argyle, Walpole's political enemy, the author's intent was made clear:

> As the *Chinese* are a wise discerning People, and much fam'd for their Art in Government, it is not to be wonder'd at, that the Fable is political: Indeed it exibits an amazing Series of Male-administration....It's certain the Chinese author has exaggerated Nature, and introduced rather a Monster than a Man;....but perhaps it is a Maxim with the Chinese poets to represent Prime Ministers as so many Devils, to deter honest People from being deluded by them...[100]

A further instance of the use of China to show up Walpole's defects is given by Dr. Johnson's two essays on China, published in the Gentleman's Magazine in 1738 and 1742. The first was an eulogy of Chinese people, obviously written with an eye on English politics and morality. Johnson - referring to Du Halde 's account of Chinese ethics and government - maintains that the reader of this account will be surprised:

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[100] Ch'en Shou-yi,"The Chinese Orphan: A Yuan play", in T'ien Hsia Monthly, Vol. 3 Aug-Dec 1936, pp.89-114.

...by the Relations he will there meet with of honest Ministers, who, however incredible it may seem have been seen more than once in that Monarchy, and have adventured to admonish the Emperors of any Deviation from the Laws of their Country, or any Error in their Conduct, that has endanger'd either their own safety or the Happines of their People. He will read of Emperors, who, when they have been address'd in this Manner, have neither storm'd, nor threaten'd, nor kick'd their Ministers nor thought it majestick to be obstinate in the Wrong; but have, with a Greatness of Mind worthy of a Chinese Monarch, brought their Actions willingly to the Test of Reason, Law, and Morality, and scorn'd to exert their Power in defence of that which they could not support by Argument...[101]

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[101] quoted in Fan Tsen Chung, "Dr Johnson and the Chinese Culture" in Quarterly Bulletin of Chinese Bibliography, , vol. V, n. 1-4, March-December 1945, pp. 1-17.

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What stands out from all the works, essays, and reports quoted is that the contact with China was not so superficial or incidental. Although it would be wrong to suppose that the revolution which took place in the field of gardening during the first half of the eighteenth century was brought about entirely by the influence of China we have to recognize the significance of its contribution. During the eighteenth century, as I have tried to illustrate, the excellence and superiority of Chinese government and morality was widely recognized. This made the acceptance of the superiority of Chinese art in the laying out of gardens easier. Wittkower claimed that the admiration for China as a state ruled by "wise, just and temperate rulers for the benefit of the common people"[102] confirmed the eighteenth-century English ideal of freedom both in politics and in Nature and this influenced what has been defined as "the garden of liberalism".[103] China was also held as an example against Walpole's government. It may be the case that Chinese references in those gardens we have seen as articulating opposition ideas would be serving the same purpose. Above all, this new kind of garden was the most convincing evidence of the general tendency to "return to Nature" which formed the undercurrent of the culture of the time. This new spiritual demand or cultural need found correspondence in the Chinese way of laying out gardens.

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[102] Rudolph Wittkower, "English neo-palladianism, the landscape garden, China and the Enlightment", L' Arte, n. 6, 1969, pp. 18-35.

[103] Nikolaus Pevsner, "The Genesis of the Picturesque", Architectural Review, XCVL 1944, reprinted in Studies in Art, Architecture and Design London, 1968, pp. 78-102.

The aim of this time was to produce the illusion of Nature in her wild and free state, to create substitutes for her woods, lakes, mountains, caves, and so on... Nature had to provide a variety of delights for the varying moods of the "man of feeling". This could only be achieved by a garden which embodied both nature and art in itself. The function of art should have been to combine in a manifold but unified plan the most various material forms as a means of many different emotional suggestions. The art of the garden had to develop into a kind of Metaphysics by the aid of which the artist might make of the garden an inexhaustible source of varied sentimental reactions. Such an art, as we have seen, found possible models in Chinese gardens. The garden was for the Chinese a scroll of painting in living material which had to be unrolled gradually before the eye of the visitor. It had to invite a walk through it and fascinate by its ever changing pictorial motifs, its surprising views and associating allusions. This art was also allied to poetry reflecting moods and concepts that sometimes found expression in words and scrolls placed in the garden Pavilions. The same dependence on painting and poetry can be found in the English landscape gardens of the eighteenth century. It appears evident after all this that the knowledge of Chinese culture and decorative art which was disseminated in Europe, including gardens, played an important role in the development of those new aesthetic concepts which had its beginning in the art of gardening and extended later to literature and all the arts.

Part Two

The Architecture of the Early English Landscape Garden and its Political Associations

The Eighteenth-Century Political Background

The early landscape garden developed after the accession of George I in 1714. Before then, because Queen Anne had Tory inclinations, the Tories still managed to have a tenuous hold on government but after 1714 the future belonged to the Whigs. By exerting all the resources of influence and patronage the government and the leading Whig aristocrats had managed to achieve a Whig majority at the general elections which automatically followed the death of the Sovereign . With the election of Robert Walpole as Finance Minister in 1721, the tendency towards the consolidation of a Whig power clique increased, the principles of the 1688 Revolution were neglected and the philosophical content of the Whig doctrine was completely perverted.[1] In order to have a better understanding of the political and social situation after the election of Walpole it is important to know what the so called Whig ideal entails and why under Robert Walpole's Ministry it was transformed into the political theory of the Opposition.

The " Whig ideal " originated during the seventeenth century with the English Revolution, yet the term "revolution" also correctly describes the central intellectual transformation of 1600, namely the Scientific Revolution. The seventeenth century political theory which was revived by the Opposition during

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[1] Geoffrey Holmes and Daniel Szechi, The Age of Oligarchy, New York, 1993, pp. 12-26; G. V. Bennet, "Jacobitism and the Rise of Walpole" in McKendrick, Neil ed., Historical Perspectives in English Thought and Society in Honour of J.H. Plumb, London, 1974, pp. 70-92; A. S. Foord, His Majesty's Opposition 1714-1830, Oxford, 1964; William Speck, Stability and Strife, London 1977; J. H. Plumb, England in the Eighteenth Century, London, 1950 and Sir Robert Walpole, London 1960; Christine Gerrard, The Patriot Opposition to Walpole: Politics, Poetry and National Myth, 1725-1742, New York, 1994; Linda Colley, In Defiance of Oligarchy, Cambridge, 1982.

Walpole's Ministry is deeply connected with the new scientific discoveries which created a distrust of both religion and state authority. The Scientific Revolution, which as we have seen reached its culmination during the second half of the seventeenth century, helped contribute to the development of both a new pantheistic vision of nature and of Commonwealth Republican ideals. The rejection of revelation was a way of asserting that human reason could itself attain access to all necessary religious truth, by inference man would-be self sufficient, too, in the lesser sphere of politics. Moreover a consequence of the denial that Christ exercised divine authority was that He could not institute a priesthood descending by apostolic succession and exercising its mediatory powers by virtue of the divine right. If even the Church could not claim divine institution, the State was still more obviously secular.

Within English republican circles the philosophical legacy of the Scientific Revolution, and its late Renaissance antecedents were fused with a revolutionary tradition hostile to courts and established churches. From Harrington onwards, we can trace a consistent tendency on the part of republican thinkers to explain the ordered universe not by reference to an imposed supernatural order administered as it were by God's representatives, kings, oligarchs and the like, but by recourse to the notion that spirit lives in nature, in people as in all objects. Republicans converted the resulting philosophical pantheism into civic religion. They knew that religious consensus in a civic and universal religion lay the key to the reform of the old order.[2] The most famous works containing the principles of the

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[2] Margaret C. Jacob, The Radical Enlightenment: Pantheists Freemasons and Republicans, London, 1981, pp. 65-86.

Commonwealth republicanism, which passed into the whole Whig canon were reissued during the years 1700-1728. These included: Harrington's The Commonwealth of Oceana (which was first published in 1656), James Tyrrell's Bibliotheca Politica, (1684) Andrew Fletcher's A Discourse of Government with Relation to Militias (1689), Henry Nevile's Plato Redivivius (1681).[3]

All these writers advanced the same claims. The first is that political liberty is assured whenever the constitution of a nation is "balanced" between its executive and legislative parts. A medium between tyranny and popularity is the only constitutional guarantee against vice and corruption. This ideal of a balanced constitution is taken up especially by Harrington, where he analyses the relations between various forms of constitutional balance and various degrees of political liberty taking as a model the republic of Venice.[4] Shaftesbury, saw this "happy balance of Power.... between our Prince and People" as a manifestation of the "Law of Nature".[5]

Secondly these writers maintain that to study the cause of liberty and its loss is to study the history of the various European countries. They all stressed the importance of the histories of Athens, Sparta, Rome, as well as of modern Italy and the English ancient constitution. And presumably there were therefore pertinent lessons to be learned from their histories.

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[3] Quentin Skinner, "Bolingbroke versus Walpole" in Historical Perspectives: Studies in English Thought and Society in honour of J.H. Plumb, London 1974, Neil McKendrick ed., pp. 93-128.
[4] Zera Fink, The Classical Republicans, An essay in the recovery of a pattern of thought in seventeenth century England, Evanston 1945, pp.52-89; David Wootton ed., Republicanism, Liberty and Commercial Society 1649-1776; Stanford, California, 1994.
[5] A. A. Cooper, Earl of Shaftesbury, op.cit., 1711, p.216.

The third and major claim concerned the means by which a free government can be preserved. Every one agreed that political liberty could be assured only where corruption is checked and balanced by the maintenance of political virtue. Virtuous citizens should therefore be active and check any ambitious, corrupt statesmen and will thus be able to maintain their political liberties. Harrington's model of a Commonwealth in Oceana is filled with devices like annual elections, and the rotation of offices which ensure that the citizens do not lose a sense of active involvement in political life.[6] The development of the political situation in England after 1714 would soon disappoint these people who believed in Shaftesbury's moral philosophy and in the patterns of ideas and attitudes which originated in the English Revolution.

After 1714, when the Whig party achieved power the moral and political beliefs of the "Whig ideal" were gradually taken less and less into consideration. Politics under Walpole were stable but the stability rested on the systematic corruption of the Parliament by the executive. Walpole knew how to manoeuvre his rivals and was able to raise his position from Finance Minister to Prime Minister. He enjoyed the full confidence of the king and had the control of the Crown's extensive patronage. He dominated the political life of his time because he was able to control the members of political society in a network of patronage and influence by awarding government positions and pensions to his supporters in Parliament. By doing so he brought the institutions of government into grave disrepute. This lax political pragmatism proved that one of the most important

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[6] Zera Fink, op.cit.,p. 63-68.

Whig beliefs on the moral qualities necessary to preserve a free government was no longer respected and this was seen as a threat to the foundations of England's liberty-preserving "mixed" constitution.

John Toland, in his work The Art of Governing by Partys (1701) had already perceived the danger of corruption and vice which could derive from the English political praxis:

> the Ministers are commonly chosen out of that Party who owes a revenge to the other and consequently will oblige the king with anything on condition he gratifies their Passion against their Enemies. But when either this Party, by their own Violence and the Knavery of such Tools, comes to be odius to the Nation, or when the Ministers are disown'd in their tricks by those very people that first set them up, then the Prince makes his Court to the other Party who are now become the strongest and choses some popular Men among them for his Confidents and Counsillors. Nevertheless this party-business is all the while but a mere blind for matters go on just as they did, where one left off the other begins: in Tory out Whig in Whig out Tory; but you must all serve the same design, if you won'd merit or retain your Imployments. Their Pulses are felt by Men of Experience and if any doubts remains of their complying disposition they must promise beforehand or all their zeal for a Party will not signifie a straw. But this one mischief is inevitable that they are supported a long while by the credit of their

> Party, who can't immediately discover the cheat ; and are loath to quit them when they do for fear of power's falling into the hands of their Enemies, thinking it more advisable to bear with the failing of old Friends than to stand at the mercy of known Foes....[7]

The development of this separation between power and morality, political reality of the time and ideal socio-political concepts of the English Revolution legacy brought about a gradual dissolution of the old party division as well as the development of a strengthened Parlamentary Opposition party. This was composed of discontented Whigs and reformed Tories.[8]

By 1711 Shaftesbury had to admit that after 1688 Whigs and Tories could no longer be identified with distinct social classes, because also a: " ..noted friend to Liberty in Church and State an Abhorror of the slavish dependancy on Courts " when in possession of power can, despite his principles, become a " Royal Flatterer, a Courtier against his Nature..."[9]. Commonwealthmen like John Trenchard and Thomas Gordon expressed the same conviction in one of their Cato's Letters (1724):

> A Tory under oppression or out of Place, is a Whig, and a Whig with Power to oppress, is a Tory [10]

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[7] John Toland, The Art of Governing by Partys, London, 1701, pp.98-99.
[8] A.S. Foord, His Majesty's Opposition 1714-1830, Oxford, 1964, pp. 136-159.
[9] A. A. Cooper, Earl of Shaftesbury, op. cit., 1711, ii, p. 170.
[10] Thomas Gordon and John Trenchard between November 1720 and July 1723 published a series of letters signed by " Cato" first in the London Journal, later in the British Journal. These appeared with a number of additions by Gordon as Cato's Letters, 4 Vols., London 1724. These two writers belonged to that group of Whig neo-Harringtonians (James Tyrell, Andrew Fletcher,

Therefore during the Georgian period the old party division became more a division between the Court party, the party in power and the Country party, as the Opposition was defined. Many people involved in the new experiments of garden design belonged to this Country party.

Linda Colley in her study on the Tory party from 1714 to 1760 argues that the Tories simply modified their attitude to meet changing circumstances but preserved their ideological identity despite the necessary alliances with Dissident Whigs and she concludes that a neutral and ideologically homogeneous Country party never existed.[11] It is certainly true that in the early Hanoverian period it proved very difficult to organize an effective opposition with a distinctive ideology and coherent policy. The different elements making up the Country Opposition could not agree, for example, about matters of religion or about who should enjoy active political power. Nevertheless, none of the various element of the opposition wished to overturn the constitution. The radical Whigs, described as Commonwealthmen or classical republicans, were not democrats or opponents to the monarchy. The opposition Tories, for their own part, gradually severed all links with Jacobitism and reconciled themselves to both the Revolution settlement and the Hanoverian succession. It was the fear of corruption, more than anything else, which united the disparate elements into an ideologically motivated opposition to the political methods adopted by the establishment Whigs.[12] Their

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Henry Nevile, Walter Moyle, Robert Molesworth,) who believed in the Whig canon of ideas about political liberty and associated with Shaftesbury's campaign at the time of the Exclusion Crisis. J.A.A. Pocock, Politics, Language and Time, New York, 1971, pp.115-33.

[11] Linda Colley, In Defiance of Oligarchy, Cambridge, 1982.

[12] H.T. Dickinson, Liberty and Property, London, 1977, pp. 121-194.

campaign was as much moral as it was political. They all agreed on an ethic of civic virtue which maintained that society and civil government could only be preserved by the patriotic action and public spirit of man of property. However , the 'ideal' national regeneration they were longing for, was conceived, as I will show, within a merely utopian framework, as their aim was (at least at this first stage 1722-1760): " to effect a confrontation of the actual world of Augustan England with a country of the mind ". [13]

The Opposition was heterogeneous, but we can say that it was composed mainly of two groups: the reformed Tories and later those disappointed Whigs we have seen as the Boy Patriots. The group of liberal Tories had Viscount Bolingbroke as a leader. Returned from exile in 1723 after being pardoned for complicity with the Jacobites he was forbidden to resume his seat in the House of Lords. His associates included Lord Bathurst (1684-1775), a member of the Scribblerus club, the centre of the Tory propaganda campaign against Walpole which was led by Swift in 1713 and which included Bolingbroke, Pope , Dr. Arbuthnot and Edward Harley, 2nd Earl of Oxford.[14] The latter was another Tory who, after the Whigs' triumph, decided to sympathize with the liberal Tories. He retired to his estate (Dawn Hall, Wimpole) to cultivate the arts and learning, and fraternized with Pope and Swift among others.[15]

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[13] Maynard Mack, op cit., p. 9.
[14] David Jacques, "The Art and Sense of the Scribblerus Club in England 1715-35" Garden History, 1976, pp.30-53.
[15] James Lees-Milne, op. cit, p. 173.

Alexander Pope himself had friends in both parties so that " Tories called him Whig, and Whigs a Tory " as he affirmed.[16] In his satires and epistles, he attacks Walpole's government on moral principles and as we have seen, he belonged to the same circle of satirists, poets, journalists, (Jonathan Swift, John Gay, Joseph Addison, Richard Steele, Henry Fielding, James Thomson) who criticized Walpole's government.[17] His Whig friends were the Boy Patriots, Cobham, Lyttleton, Allen, Pitt, the Whig architects Pembroke and Burlington with their gardeners Bridgemen and Kent, as well as Southcote (Worburn farm) Shenstone (Leasowe) and Dormer (Rousham).

Almost all these friends of Pope, who also belonged to the Country Party, played an important role in the genesis of the new landscape garden, and here, we see the beginning of the link between the opposition to Walpole's Government and the landscape garden in England. Some examples illustrate this point and show how interconnections between people operated. Richard Temple, Viscount of Cobham was dismissed by Walpole after his decision to side openly with the Opposition in 1733.[18] He laid out the garden of Stowe in various phases from 1712 to 1749 [19] and here he gathered around him the most eminent figures of the Opposition (George Grenville 1712-1770, William Pitt 1708-1778, George Lyttelton 1709-1773, Hugh Fortescue 1695-1752, William Beckford 1704-1757). His nephew George Lyttelton, was also affiliated to the Boy Patriots, and laid out

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[16] A. Pope, "Epilogue to the Satires", Dialogue I in: F.W. Bateson, The Poems of A. Pope, Twickenham, 1951.
[17] Betrand, Goldgar Walpole and the Wits, the relation between politics to literature 1722-1745, Lincoln and London, University of Nebraska, 1976.
[18] B. Williams, The Whig Supremacy 1714-1760, Oxford, 1962, pp.53-56.
[19] G.B Clark, "The Gardens of Stowe", Apollo 97, 1973, pp. 23-30.

Hagley in 1739.[20] Another Boy Patriot, William Pitt, married Cobham's niece Hester Grenville, and became Prime Minister after Walpole. Pitt, who laid out a garden in South Lodge/Enfield[21], was a friend of with Ralph Allen, the Postmaster General in Bath who was elected mayor of Bath in 1725. Ralph Allen had many friends among the members of the Opposition :

> By 1734 almost everybody could be expected to appear at Bath. One would notice Lord Chesterfield, Lord Burlington and the famous Lord Bolingbroke, Pope and Swift, John Gay and Dr Arbuthnot and George Lyttelton...[22]

He was praised for his benevolence and virtuous behaviour by Pope[23] and even if there is no evidence that he officially joined the party, he certainly shared the same political and cultural ideals. As Boyce writes:

> By introducing Allen's into a satire that honoured the Prince of Wales and his Secretary and condemned Walpole, Pope was quietly drawing his friend into the aura of the Opposition,...[24]

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[20]R.M. Davis., The Good Lord Lyttleton, A Study in Eighteenth Century Politics and Culture, Betlehem 1939; G.Nares," Hagley Hall Worcestershire", Country Life, 122, Sep.19, 1957, pp. 546-611.
[21] B.Williams, Willliam Pitt, Earl of Chatham, London, 1966.
[22] Benjamin Boyce, A Life of Ralph Allen of Bath, London, 1967, p. 56.
[23] Erskine Hill, The Social Milieu of Alexander Pope, London, 1975, p. 206-240.
[24] Ibid, p.79.

Ralph Allen 's country house Prior Park was created in 1734 by the architect John Wood whose classical scholarship was based upon Palladio, while he landscaped the garden following the advice of Pope, Bathurst and Pitt.[25]Likewise Chesterfield House, constructed in 1749 in the Palladian style belonged to Philip Dormer Stanhope, 4th Earl of Chesterfield, who was dismissed by Walpole in 1733 together with Lyttleton's brother in law, Hugh Fortescue, 1st Earl of Clinton, who built Castle Hill and with the help of Bridgeman laid out the garden.[26]

Together with Colonel Robert Dormer (Rousham) and the two Pelham brothers - Thomas Pelham, Duke of Newcastle (Claremont), Henry Pelham (Esher)[27] - another two important members of the Opposition were the two Architects: Lord Burlington and the Earl of Pembroke.[28] Pembroke (1693-1750) inherited Wilton House (designed by Inigo Jones in 1630) and designed a Palladian bridge for the park, thus attesting to the significance of the Palladian style during this epoch. Similarly, he designed Marble Hill mansion in the Palladian style, which belonged to Henrietta of Howard Countess of Suffolk, and laid out the grounds in 1724 with the help of Lord Bathurst, Burlington, Pope and Charles Bridgeman.[29]

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[25] Ibid, p.110-119.
[26] K. Woodbridge, "Landscaping at Castle Hill", Country Life, IV, January 4, 1979, pp. 18-21.
[27] Michael Symes," The Landscaping of Esher Place", Journal of Garden History, 1988, Vol. 8, pp. 63-99.
[28] A.S. Foord, Her Majesty's Opposition 1714-1830, Oxford, 1964, p. 179.
[29] James Lees-Milne, Earls of Creation, London, 1962, p. 59; This book provides the best all-around account of Burlington life. More recent work includes: the exibition catalogue, Apollo and the Arts, Lord Burlington and his Circle, ed. J. Wilton-Ely, University Gallery Nottingham, 1973; Lord Burlington and his Circle (Papers given at a Georgian Symposium on 22nd May 1982) and Lord Burlington: Architecture, Art and Life, London, 1995 ed. by Toby Barnard and Jane Clark.

For his part, Richard Boyle 3rd Earl of Burlington (1694-1753), who most contributed to the diffusion of the ancient Roman canons of architecture as formulated by Vitruvius and practised by the apostle Palladio, was a Whig and for the first three years of George I's reign enjoyed the height of his political success, but when in the spring of 1733 Sir Robert Walpole brought in the Excise Bill, he joined the Opposition with Bathurst, Chesterfield and Cobham, and like many of the opposition members, decided to retire to the country :

> At once...he ceased to be a Whig thus forfeiting all future chances of favour. Then as though to cast off forever his association with the capital and ministerial functions he packed up the best of his pictures and moved them permanently to Chiswick...[30]

Thomas Coke, Earl of Leicester (1697-1759), a friend of Lord Burlington, who received the latter's help in the design of Holkham palace and park, is also to be counted among the members of the Opposition for his liberal ideas[31] as he spoke in a "scornful and injurious way of the king and his ministers" but he praised " the scoundrels" who were the "cause of the present troubles".[32]

Lord Carlisle was another politician who decided to retire to the country in order to lead a "life of rural pleasure". Carlisle, in fact, started to lay out the garden at Castle Howard in 1724 and in 1732 Vanbrugh built The Temple of the

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[30] Ibid, p. 105.
[31] Ibid, 221-263.
[32] Jane Clark," Palladianism and the Divine Right of Kings", Apollo, April 1992, pp. 224-228.

Four Winds, a variation of the Palladio's Rotonda.[33] Thus an espousal of Palladian architecture and "natural" gardening seems to have been an insignia of political opposition in general. It is worth mentioning here that Lord Carlisle was a good friend of Francis Dashwood (1708-1781) who founded with him the Dilettanti Society in 1732.[34] Francis Dashwood was not a Whig but his political ideology was essentially republican. He was a friend of Marquis de Montesquieu (1689-1755) and of Benjamin Franklin (1706-1790) and promoted the transmission of the liberal ideals of the English Commonwealth among the intellectuals of the French and American revolution[35]. His architectural orientation is witnessed by the construction of his country house at West Wycombe around 1745, following the model of Palladio's Palazzo Chiericati, as well as by its landscaped grounds. Dashwood's uncle, John Fane, 7th Earl of Westmoreland and builder of the Mereworth Rotonda shared the ideals of the Country Party[36] together with Charles Hamilton who in 1740 began to lay out the garden at Pains Hill.[37] Additionally, the poet Shenstone, who wrote Unconnected Thoughts on Gardening (1768), where he gives a detailed description of The Leasowes, the landscape garden he laid out in Shropshire near Lyttelton's Hagley, was not involved in politics but he was nevertheless a dissident like Pope, Bolingbroke and Cobham. In his work The Judgement of Hercules (1740) he praised George

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[33] John Dixon Hunt, Peter Willis, op. cit., 1975, pp. 228-232.
[34] Shearer West, "Libertinism and the Ideology of Male Friendship in the Portraits of the Society of Dilettanti", Eighteenth-century Life, May 1992, pp. 77-104.
[35] Betty Kemp, Sir Francis Dashwood. An Eighteenth Century Independant, New York, 1967.
[36] Manuscript of the Earl of Egmont, London 1920, II pp. 415-416, 360-421; in 1737 his bust was set near the leaders of the Opposition in the Temple of Friendship at Stowe.
[37] H.F. Clark, The English Landscape Garden, London, 1948, p. 43-45.

Lyttelton (Hagley) as the best representative of all the people who belonged to the Opposition and chose to follow the path of virtue:

> Happiest ...is he whose matchless mind...
>
> Chose Virtue's path...
>
> Lov'd by that Prince (*Prince of Wales)* whom ev'ry Virtue fires;
>
> Prais'd by that bard (*Pope*) whom ev'ry Muse inspires...[38]

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[38] W.Shenstone,The Judgement of Hercules (1740) In: The Works of William Shenstone, 3 Vols. London 1768, Vol. I, p. 234.

The Early English Landscape Garden and the Ideals of the Opposition

The reformed Tories and disappointed Whigs who composed the Opposition identified themselves with those writers and theorists who believed in the radical and political thought of the English Civil War and Commonwealth period and applied it to the problems of eighteenth-century English politics. Few of those writers believed that the transfer of sovereignty from the Crown to the Parliament (achieved with the Glorious Revolution) provided a perfect guarantee that the individual would be protected from the power of the state. Ignoring the complacency and general high level of satisfaction of the time, they called for vigilance against the government of Walpole. They all believed that the root principles of good government could be found only in the great republican thinkers of the Commonwealth: Sidney, Harrington, Milton, Neville, Fletcher, Tyrrell and they republished their works.[39] There were among them extreme libertarians like John Trenchard (1662-1723) and John Gordon who produced the weekly Independent Whig, fifty three pages of which were published in a book called Cato's Letters (1721) an indictment of eighteenth-century English politics and society.[40] The key concepts of these writers were natural rights, the contractual basis of society and government, the uniqueness of England's liberty-

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[39] J.P. Kenyon, Revolution Principles: The Politics of Party 1689-1720, Cambridge, 1977; Mark Goldie, "The Roots of True Whiggism 1688-94" History of Political Thought, London, 1980, pp. 195-236; J.G. Pocock, Virtue, Commerce and History, Cambridge, 1985, pp. 215-253.

[40] Caroline Robbins, The Eighteenth-Century Commonwealthman, Cambridge, 1959, pp.115-125, 392-393.

preserving "mixed constitution". Pride in the liberty-preserving constitution of Britain was universal in the political literature of the age and everyone agreed on the moral qualities necessary to preserve a free government.[41] Both Toland and Shaftesbury, belonged to this circle of free-thinkers.

Bolingbroke's political activity was also important for the shaping of eighteenth-century Opposition ideology .[42] In the pages of the Craftsman which appeared weekly from 1726-1736 he presented a defence of the ancient liberties of Britain and he did what he could to unite the dissident elements of the Opposition by declaring that the time was past when differences existed between Whigs and Tories for honest men of both parties accepted the principles of the Revolution as a statement of political orthodoxy. They should therefore unite against the common enemy who was fostering corruption:

> it is time for every man, who is desirous to preserve the British constitution, and to preserve it secure, to contribute all he can to prevent the ill effects of that new influence and power which have gained strength in every reign since the revolution; of those means of corruption that may be employed, one time or other, on the part of the crown, and of that proneness to corruption on the part of the people, that hath been long growing, and still grows..The friends of our constitution, therefore, are in the right to join issue upon this

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[41] H.T. Dickinson, op. cit., pp.148-158.
[42] Isaac Kramnick, Bolingbroke and his Circle: The Politics of Nostalgia in the Age of Walpole, Cambridge. Mass. 1968.

> point with the enemies of it, and to fix upon this principal and real distinction and difference, the present division of parties;...as nothing can be more ridiculous than to preserve the nominal division of whig and tory parties, which subsisted before the revolution, when the difference of principles, that could alone make the distinction real, exists no longer; so nothing can be more reasonable than to admit the nominal division of constitutionists and anti-constitutionists, or of a court and court-party, at this time, when an avowed difference of principles makes the distinction real...[43]

As the *Old Whig* remarked , 8 May 1735:

> There has been one good Effect of (Bolingbroke's) Writing, that the Tories, who were his former Friends, are come much into the Popular Notions of Liberty; and the old Doctrines, of Divine Authority of Princes, and of absolute Submission to them, which they consider'd as Sacred, seem now totally discarded by them...[44]

Bolingbroke's major political works Remarks on the History of England and Dissertation on Parties were designed to serve the purpose of reminding the court

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[43] Henry St. John Viscount Bolingbroke: A Dissertation upon Parties (1733-4) in The Works of Lord Bolingbroke, London, 1967, II, pp. 163-8.

[44] quoted in Pope and his Contemporaries Essays presented to George Sherburn edited by James L. Clifford and Louis A. Landa, Oxford, 1949, p.219.

Whigs of the views held by the accredited theorists of their own party (Henry Neville, James Tyrell, Harrington, Algernon Sydney) about the concepts of political liberty which they seemed to have forgotten.[45]It was therefore the task of the Opposition party to remind them of these principles and this task was considered an act of patriotism because, according to Bolingbroke, these people were acting to defend and preserve the political liberties acquired with the English Revolution for the honour and interest of the nation.

A follower of Shaftesbury, Bolingbroke transposed Shaftesbury's conception of "moral sense" to politics. According to Shaftesbury, the premise for moral behaviour is the capacity to rule passions. Only when the soul is "balanced" and man behaves according to his natural "moral sense" can he understand the divine harmony of nature. The same "moral sense" can be applied to political behaviour. The use of power has to be balanced in order to reflect the law of nature. The individual has to control his private interests and work only for the happiness of society. As Bolingbroke maintained, " private good depends on the public, and the happines of every individual on the happiness of society ".[46] Liberty, it was also argued by Shaftesbury, could only be preserved if public-spirited men were vigilant and continually aware of the interests of the nation at large:

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[45] The Remarks.... is a complete endorsment of the Whig belief in the fundamental importance of maintaining a balanced constitution. In the Dissertation of Parties he endorses the Whig belief that any study of the ways in which political liberties are usually gained or lost must be an historical study. Quentin Skinner, op.cit., pp.93-128.

[46] quoted in K. Kluxen, Das Problem der politischen Opposition. Entwicklung und Wesen der englischen Zweiparteienpolitik im 18. Jahrhundert, Freiburg, 1952, p. 130

> Where ever this public spirit reigns: and where this zeal for the common good governs in the minds of men; that state will flourish and increase in riches and power and where ever it declines or is set at nought; weakness, disorder, and poverty must be expected. this love to their native soile where it has been deeply rooted and while it could be preserved has made little citties famous and invincible, as Sparta, Corinth, Thebes, and Athens, and from thence all the Roman greatnesse took its rise; but where they are wretchedly contriving their own ends, without any care of their countreys profitt, or trafficking its wealth and liberty rewards, preferment and titles; where everyone is snatching all he can from the public, and, where there is a general neglect of national interest; they grow luxurious, proud, false, and effeminate: and a people so deprav'd, is commonly the prey of some neighbour, season'd with more wise and better principles."[47]

Walpole did not govern according to "moral sense", for his politics rested on a systematic corruption of Parliament. Hence, it became the task of the Opposition to uphold those moral values that the Court party had lost.

In his Epilogue to the Satires (1738) and Moral Essays (1713) Pope infers that all virtues rest with the Opposition, with individuals that in one way or another have quarrelled with Walpole:

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[47] Shaftesbury papers, 30/24/46/ no. 90, Essay on Public Virtue, 1696, fol. 14.

But does the Court a worthy Man remove?
That instant, I declare, he has my Love:
I shun his Zenith, court his mild Decline:
Thus SOMMERS once, and HALIFAX were mine.
Oft in the clear, still Mirrour of Retreat,
I study'd SHREWSBURY, the wise and great:
CARLETON's calm Sense, and STANHOPE'S noble Flame,
Compar'd, and knew their gen'rous End the same:
How pleasing ATTERBURY'S softer hour!
How shin'd the Soul, unconquer'd in the Tow'r!
How can I PULT'NEY, CHESTERFIELD forget,
While *Roman* Spirit charms, and *Attic* Wit:
ARGYLE, the State's whole Thunder born to wield,
And shake alike the Senate and the Field:
Or Wyndham, just to Freedom and the Throne,
The Master of our Passions, and his own
Names, which I long have lov'd, nor lov'd in vain'
Rank'd with their Friends, not number'd with their Train;
And if yet higher the proud List should end,
Still let me say! No Follower, but a Friend.[48]

His hopes lay on the spirit of Patriotism of these people:

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[48]Alexander Pope, Epilogue to the Satires, London, 1738, Dia. II, ll. 74-93.

Sometimes a Patriot, active in debate,
Mix with the World, and battle for the State,
Free as young Lyttelton, her cause pursue,
Still true to Virtue, and as warm as true:[49]

And you! brave COBHAM, to the latest breath
Shall feel your ruling passion strong in death:
Such in those moments as in all the past,
' Oh, save my country, Heav'n! ' shall be your last.[50]

In another passage from Imitation of Horace (1733) he clearly expresses the moral objection felt towards Walpole and the Court:

Yet every child another song will sing,
'Virtue, brave boys!'tis Virtue makes a King.'
True, conscious Honour is to feel no sin,
He's arm'd without that's innocent within;
Be this thy Screen, and this thy Wall of Brass;
Compar'd to this, a Minister's an Ass.

And say, to which shall our applause belong,
This new Court jargon, or the good old song?
The modern language of corrupted Peers,

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[49]Ibid., ll. 27-30.
[50]Alexander Pope, Moral Essays, London, 1713, I, ll. 262-5..

Or what was spoke at CRESSY and POITIERS?

Who counsels best? who whispers, 'Be but Great,

With Praise or Infamy, leave that to fate;

Get Place and Wealth, if possible, with Grace;

If not, by any means get Wealth and Place.'[51]

Pope's political ideals are reflected in his garden. His famous grotto, where he used to meet his friends : " Chiefs, out of War, and Statesman, out of Place "[52] - namely those on the side of the Patriotic opposition - was intended as a philosopher's den, the domain of virtue and true wisdom, evidently a place where impassioned conversations about the commonwealth were held:

There my Retreat the best Companions grace,

Chiefs out of war, and Statesmen, out of Place.

There *St. John* mingles with my friendly Bowl,

The Feast of Reason and the Flow of Soul...[53].

Only these "great men" could enter the grotto:

Approach: But awful! Lo th' *AEgerian* Grott,

Where, nobly-pensive ST. JOHN sate and thought;

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[51] Alexander Pope, Imitations of Horace, London, 1733, Sat. I, ll. 91-104
[52] Ibid, p.126.
[53] Ibid.

Where British Sighs from dying WYNDHAM stole,

And the bright Flame was shot thro' MARCHMONT's Soul.

Let such, such only, tread this sacred Floor,

Who dare to love their Country, and be poor..[54]

Maynard Mack argues that comparing his grotto to the "*AEgerian* Grott"[55], Pope confirms his political belief on philosopher kings (like the Chinese ones) which was advanced by Bolingbroke in his essay On the Idea of a Patriot King. The Legend of King Numa, reported by Livy, says that the king was credited with receiving from the nymph Egeria, whom he met in a dark cave, the moral instructions that made his government memorable. Numa deriving wisdom and inspiration from the Muses represents the function that the Patriots sought to assign Pope in respect to the Prince of Wales, to them their possible "ideal monarch".[56] Pope, Bolingbroke and the Opposition writers made Virtue the system of values of the landed interests, the Country Party. James Thomson joined Pope in writing against Walpole in his poetry. He formed his ideas of virtue and liberty according to the principles of Shaftesbury and like Bolingbroke affirmed that the distinction between Whig and Tory had become merely "an idle Distinction of Names".

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[54] Alexander Pope, "Verses on a Grotto by the river Thames at Twickenham, composed of Marbles, Spars, and Minerals", published in The Gentleman Magazine, January, 1741.
[55] According to Searle's list (see Introduction), Pope's grotto contained " a Fine Piece of Marble from the grotto of *Egeria* near *Rome*.."
[56] Maynard Mack, op.cit., pp.69-72.

If any nobler Passion yet remain,
Let all my Sons all Parties fling aside,
Despise their Nonsense, and together join.[57]

In Thomson's main works - Liberty, The Seasons, Britannia - we find the same pattern of ideas which were taken up by the Opponents of Walpole : the warnings against the effects of luxury and corruption and the praise of ancient freedom and public virtue:

Greece shone in Genius, Science, and in Arts,
And Rome in Virtues dreadful to be told!
To live was Glory then! and charm'd Mankind,
Thro' the deep Periods of devolving Time,
Those, raptur'd, copy; These, astonish'd, read.[58]

The classical theme was an important part of the Whig formula already used by the Republicans during the English Revolution[59], which the Opposition also adapted. As we have seen, statues of classical figures appeared at Chiswick, Stowe and Rousham to suggest through the repetition that they had a real significance in the opposition mind. At Rousham a statue of Demosthenes, a great

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[57]James Thomson ,Works, London, 1738, Vol.II, Liberty, ll. 353-5.
[58] Ibid, ll. 272-76.
[59] Zera Fink, The Classical Republicans, Evanston 1945; Walter Moyle in "An Essay upon the Constitution of the Roman Government" (1696) and Toland in "Adeisaedaemon, sive Titus Livius a superstitione vindicatus" (1709) both referred to Roman republican virtues to support their political ideas.

Greek patriot who struggled against Macedonian imperialism, was placed inside the Townsend Building. The same temple contained a bust of Marcus Aurelius, symbol of benevolent government. Near the exedra at Chiswick we find three statues representing the effigies of classical characters: Socrates, Lycurgus and Lucius Verus. A statue of Socrates is also present at Rousham, while the Greek philosopher together with Lycurgus[60] decorated the Temple of Ancient Vertue at Stowe, which faced the decaying temple of Modern Virtue with the headless statue of Sir Robert Walpole. These men were linked by a common hatred to tyranny. Socrates was a well-known defender of liberty. Lycurgus had given his native town the first egalitarian institutions in Greece. Finally Lucius Verus, who had shared the imperial office with Marcus Aurelius, symbolized the refusal of absolute power. There being assembled together in the courtyard of Chiswick meant that they were there to praise the merits of the 1688 revolution, a régime which guaranteed that power was equally shared by the king, the aristocracy and the people.

But the principal point upheld by the Opposition was that Rome lost its liberty:

> Regulus had seen at Rome many examples of magnanimity, of frugality of the contempt of riches and of other virtues; and these virtues he practised. But he had not learned, nor had opportunity

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[60] Lycurgus was an absentee ruler who refused the throne of Sparta in favour of the rightful king, his nephew. He undertook long and celebrated travels to Crete, Ionia, Egypt and even India; returned, at his country's request to remodel the constitution and when that job was done retired to a life of stoical contemplation. Blakeney, A Smaller Classical Dictionary, p.316-17.

> of learning another lesson, which the examples recorded in history inculcate frequently the lesson of moderation. An indefatigable thirst of military fame, an unconfined ambition of extending their empire, an extravagant confidence in their own courage and force, an insolent contempt of their enemies, and an impetuous over-bearing spirit with which they pursued all their enterprizes, composed in his days the distinguishing character of a Roman. Whatever the Senate and people resolved, appeared to the members of that Commonwealth both practicable and just. Neither difficulties nor dangers could check them; and their sages had not yet discovered that virtues in excess degenerate in vices. Notwithstanding the beautiful rant which HORACE puts into his mouth, I make no doubt that REGULUS learned at Carthage those lessons of moderation which he had not learned at Rome, but he learned them by experience and the fruits of this experience came too late, and cost too dear, for they cost the total defeat of the Roman army, the prolongation of a calamitous war which might have been finished by a glorious peace.....[61]

At Chiswick again we find this message conveyed by the presence of three statues of Caesar[62], Pompey and Cicero in the exedra. To the eyes of the supporters of

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[61]Henry St. John Viscount Bolingbroke, Letters on the Study and Use of History, London, 1752, Vol 1-2, pp. 35-36.

[62] According to Macclary there was a head of Caeser in bas-rilief also inside the Pyramid Building at Rousham.

traditional Whiggism, Caesar and Pompey appeared as those responsible for the decline of the Roman republic and as symbols of tyranny.[63] Cicero is there in opposition to them as the helpless defender of republican institutions. The three statues were meant to evoke the end of the Roman republic at the time when rival factions, motivated by unlimited ambition, contended for power. This was also an overt hint to what was going on at Westminster under Walpole's ministry. At Stowe over the door of the Gothic Temple of Liberty, Lord Cobham placed the motto :" I thank the Gods that I am not a Roman".[64]

According to the Opposition then, the true patriot should learn from ancient history how power breeds corruption and corruption in turn undermines liberty and only social virtue and disinterested patriotism can preserve the state as Thomson states:

> Historic truth
> Should next conduct us thro' the deeps of time:
> Point us how empire grew, revolv'd, and fell,
> In scatter'd states; what makes the nations smile,
> Improves their soil, and gives them double suns;
> And why they pine beneath the brightest skies,
> In nature's richest lap. As thus we talk'd,

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[63] See James Thomson's lines in Liberty: "The shameful contest sprung; to whom mankind/ Should yield the neck to Pompey, who concea'd/ A rage impatient of an equal name/ Or to the nobler Caesar, on whose brow O'er daring vice deluding virtue smiled,/ And who no less a vain superior scorned ?" James Thomson, Rome: Being the third part of Liberty, a Poem, London, 1735, ll. 473-77.

[64] George Clarke, op.cit.

Our hearts would burn within us, would inhale

That portion of divinity, that ray

Of purest heaven, which lights the glorious flame

Of patriots, and of heroes.[65]

Therefore, the patriot should learn those high civic virtues which were practised in Ancient Greece and during the time of the Roman and Venetian Republic before their decline and prevent this from happening in Britain.[66] From the seventeenth century English revolutionaries, the Opposition writers derived also the belief that the original Anglo-Saxons had been free-born and self-governed and that the Norman conquest had imposed the yoke of tyranny. All the writers and theorists of the English Revolution (Harrington, Algernon Sidney, Henry Neville, Milton) shared the idea that the law of nature had been embodied in the pre-Conquest constitution.[67] King Alfred began to play an important part in the patriotic legend. Milton praised " the most renowed King Alfred" on many occasions. Several books were published on the life of Alfred and the History of England.[68]

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[65] James Thomson, op. cit., 1730, " Winter ", ll. 489-99.

[66] David Wootton, Paolo Sarpi: Between Renaissance and Enlightenment, Cambridge University Press, 1983; Harrington 's "Oceana" was reprinted in 1700 and propagated by a group of Whig "neo-Harringtonians" associated with Shaftesbury, see J.A. Pocock, Politics, Language and Time, London, 1971, pp.115-33.

[67] Christopher Hill, Puritanism and Revolution, Studies in Interpretation of the English Revolution of the 17th century, London, 1958, pp. 50-122; Zera Fink, op. cit., pp. 158-61

[68] Robert Powell, Life of Alfred (1634), Sir John Spelman, Life of Alfred the Great (1709), De Rapin-Thoyras Histoire d'Angleterre (1724-7), Sir Richard Blackmore, Alfred, An Epick Poem in Twelve Books (1723) This was an entirely fictitious account of the education of an ideal prince dedicated hopefully to Prince Frederick, the "Ideal Patriot King" according to Bolingrbroke and the Opposition. Christopher Hill, op. cit., 94-116.

Robert Molesworth in his Account of Denmark (1694), assumes that the bases of British freedom is that "Natural Love of Liberty which resided formerly in the Northern Nations most eminently than in other Parts of the World " and referring to Denmark he writes :

> The Ancient Form of Government here [in Denmark] was the same which the Goths and Vandals established in most if not all Parts of Europe whither they carried their conquest and which in England is retained to this day for the most part.[69]

Bolingbroke as well supports the idea of the "Gothic" origin of modern liberty when he affirms:

> The Principles of Saxon Commonwealth were very Democratical and these Principles prevailed through all subsequent Changes.[70]

In another passage of the Craftman it is reported that:

> his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales had order'd a fine Statue of King Alfred to be made for his Gardens...with a Latin Inscription;

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[69] Robert Molesworth, Account of Denmark, London, 1694, p. 242-62.
[70] The Craftman, XII ,94-95; 19 January 1734.

> in which it is particularly said that this Prince was the Founder of the Liberties and Commonwealth of England.[71]

Bolingbroke obviously refers here to Carlton gardens, but as we have seen Alfred was a popular figure throughout all these gardens. Lord Bathurst restored "Alfred Hall" on his grounds at Cirencester, the Temple of British Worthies at Stowe contained a statue of King Alfred and at Stourhead Henry Flitcroft designed the "Alfred Tower".

James Thomson, heir of this conception of a native Liberty, in his work Liberty affirms that it is among the invading Saxons that constitutional liberty first appears:

> Nor were the surly Gifts of War their All.
> Wisdom was likewise theirs, indulgent Laws,
> The calm Gradations of Art-nursing Peace,
> And matchless Orders, the deep Basis still
> On which ascends my British Reign. Untam'd
> To the refining Subtilties of Slaves,
> They brought an happy Government along;
> Form'd by that Freedom, which, with secret Voice,
> Impartial Nature teaches all her Sons,
> And which of old thr' the whole Scythian Mass

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[71] Ibid, XIV, 104, 6 Sept. 1735.

I strong inspir'd. Monarchial their State,
But prudently confin'd, and mingled wise
Of each harmonious Power: only, too much,
Imperious War into their Rule infus'd,
Prevail'd the General-King, and Chieftain-Thames."[72]

Gothic ruins in Georgian gardens, like classical ruins, had therefore ideological connections with the political myths of the Opposition.[73] At Stowe for example, Lord Cobham commissioned the sculptor Rysbrack to carve seven figures of the Saxon gods after whom the English days of the week are named (Fig. 124). These statues were originally placed in a grove of trees around a large circular altar with seven corresponding niches and the meaning of this Sylvan Temple (Fig. 125) is well explained in Gilbert West's poem (1732) on Stowe:

Hail ! Gods of our renown'd Forefathers, hail!
Ador'd Protectors once of *England's* Weal.
Gods, of a Nation, valiant, wise, and free,
Who conquer'd to establish Liberty!
To whose auspicious Care *Britannia* owes
Those Laws, on which she stands, by which she rose.[74]

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[72] James Thomson, op.cit., 1738, IV, ll. 685-99.
[73] M. Baridon," Ruins as a Mental Construct", Journal of Garden History, vol. 5, n. 1, 1985, p. 84-96.
[74] Gilbert West, op.cit

Fig. 124 J. M. Rysbrack, statue of Thuner from Stowe. Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

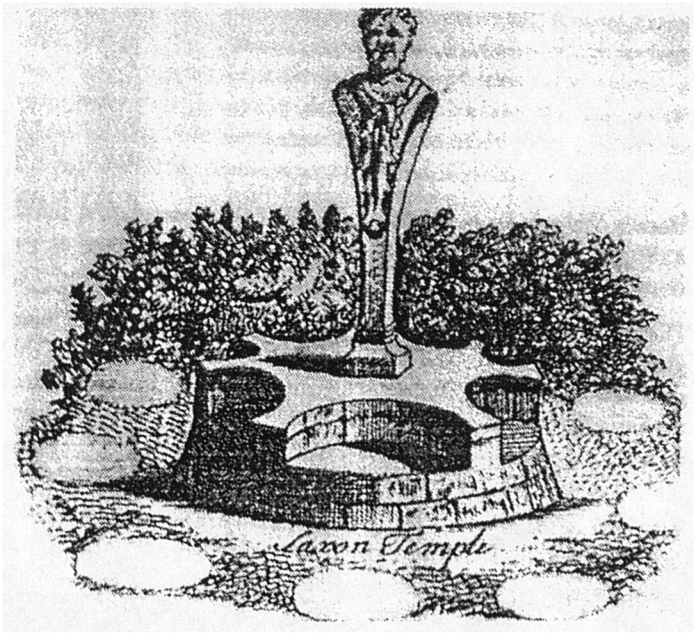

Fig. 125 Stowe. The saxon Temple. Engraving by Bucks.

In 1743 these statues were removed and placed in a circle around the Gothic building designed by Gibbs and identified as the Temple of Liberty. The revival of Gothic style of architecture in eighteenth-century England was therefore due in part to the idea of ancient Gothic liberty as a foundation for English constitutional liberty. The Gothic temple in the gardens at Shotover in Oxfordshire, dating about 1718, is often identified as the first example of a Gothic revival building (Fig. 126). The owner, Sir James Tyrrel, was an Oxford scholar of political history and promoted the idea that the Saxon Witan, or royal council, was the source of the British Parliament .His main work Biblioteca Politica (1684) which was reissued during the years 1700-1728 together with Harrington's Oceana and other works of the republican tradition[75], took the form of a "whig" account of the Ancient Constitution[76].Thus it would seem most likely that he had authorized the use of the Gothic style in his garden as an expression of his political belief.[77]

Moreover, much later (1746) when Bishop William Warburton established a connection between Gothic architecture and the forest, saying that the pointed arches of Gothic building were 'ingeniously projected to make them resemble groves as nearly as the distance of the architecture would admit",.[78] it became evident that Gothic ruins were evocative of the tradition which identified freedom with the woods in which the Saxons had always experienced liberty.

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[75] See Chapter " The Eighteenth Century Political Background".
[76] Quentin Skinner, op. cit., p.115.
[77] M. McCarthy, The Origins of the Gothic Revival, London 1987, p. 27.
[78] quoted in A. Lovejoy's "The First Gothic Revival", M.L.N., XLVII, VII, 1932, p.435.

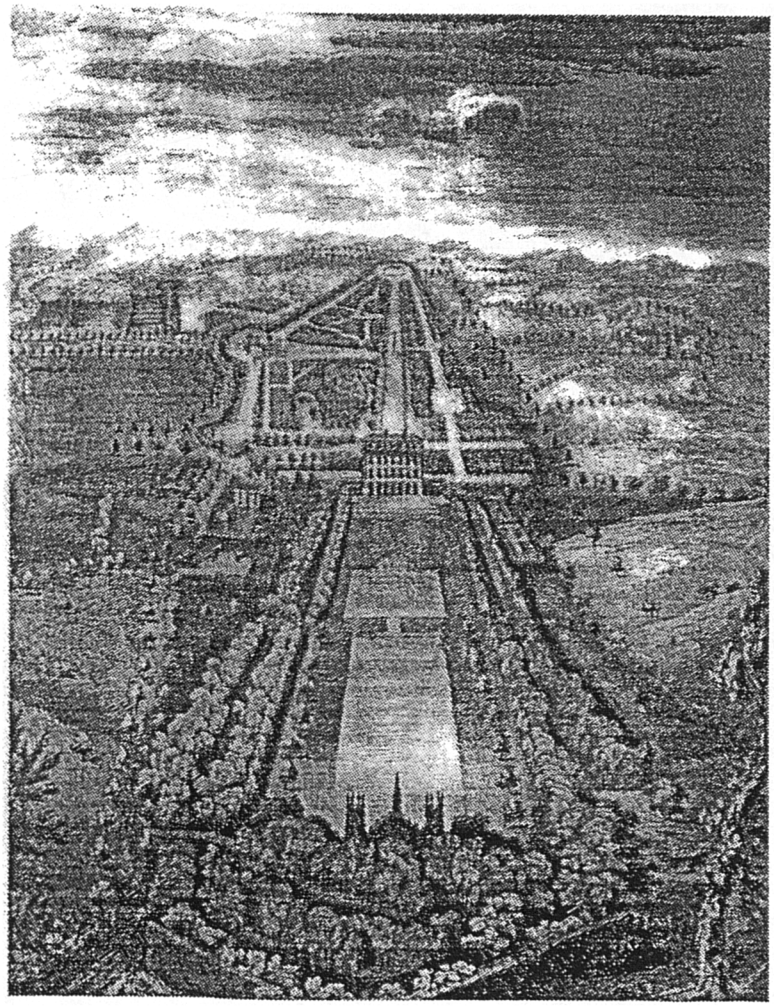

Fig. 126 Shotover. Engraving by George Bickham (1750). On the foreground the silhouette of the gothic Eyecatcher.

Together with the Saxons, the other inhabitants of ancient Britain which were often praised, were the Druids[79]. In the following passage from Thomson's poem Liberty the poet refers to the heroism and contempt of death of the Druids:

> Bold were those Britons, who, the careless Sons
> Of Nature, roam'd the Forest-Bounds, at once,
> Their verdant City, high-embowering Fane,
> And the gay Circle of their woodland Wars:
> For by the Druid taught, that Death but shifts
> The vital Scene, they that prime Fear despis'd;
> And, prone to rush on Steel, disdain'd to spare
> An ill-save'd Life that must again return.[80]

This evocation of the Druids is important as it is connected to the early eighteenth century interest in Druid religion and to the various Druid Temples of the early English landscape gardens. John Toland in his Critical History of the Celtic Religion[81] which was dedicated to his fellow Commonwealthman - Lord Molesworth - assumes that the Druids had presided over the indigenous Anglo-Saxon, and Celtic pagan religion centred around the worship of nature, symbolised by the sun. Thus, Celtic pagan religions were praised for their association with nature, primitivism and simplicity. The first association of Druids

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[79] Sam Smiles, The Image of Antiquity, New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 1994, p. 194-218.
[80] James Thomson, op. cit., 1738, IV, ll. 626-33.
[81] P. Desmaizeaux, A Collection of Several Pieces of Mr John Toland, London, 1726.

to actual gardening was made by the antiquarian William Stuckely at his home at Grantham in Lincolnshire in 1726. Stuckely was a keen investigator of the history of the Druids, and from 1719 to 1724 spent time exploring the prehistoric ruins at Stonehenge. This temple was made of trees and bushes which took the place of the stone circles of Stonehenge.[82] Stuckley's patron, Lord Pembroke had also the intention to built a" fine and costly model of Stonhenge" at Wilton in Wiltshire. The idea however seems not to have been pursued.[83] In the same way Henry Hoare erected at Stourhead a roothouse (destroyed in 1814) which was called "The Druids' Cell". The imitation Druid structure set up in gardens were not always stone circles, they might take the form of thatched houses or roothouses (made of tree-trunks and branches) and some were used as hermitages, places which were supposed to convey the idea of being retreats where to contemplate nature mystic book far from the luxuries of the corrupted world as explained by Heely while describing Hagley hermitage:

> this hermitage, or call it what you will, is well enough adapted to the scenery about it, being rudely formed with chumps of wood, and jagged old roots, jambed together, and its interstices simply filled with moss: the floor is neatly paved with small pebbles, and a matted couch goes round it.

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[82] Michael Charlesworth, "Sacred landscape: signs of religion in the eighteenth century garden", Journal of Garden History, Vol. 13, n. 1/2, 1993.

[83] M.J. Bevington, Henry Hoare and the Creation of his "Demy-Paradise", Studies in Ic onography 12, n. 51, 1988.

> A door from this leads into another apartment much in the same dress; every thing within, and immediately about it, it carries the face of poverty, and a contempt of the vain superfluities of the world, fit for the imaginary inhabitant, whom we are to suppose despises the follies and luxuries of life, and who devotes his melancholy hours, to meditation and rigid abstinence.[84]

There are only brief literary accounts to offer any image of the ephemeral hermitages or roothouses at Hagley, The Leasowes, Mereworth, Painshill. The best surviving example of this kind of garden ornament is the hermitage that William Kent built for Queen Caroline in 1730 in her gardens at Richmond (Fig. 127, 128). To suggest the idea of an old rustic building the exterior was built roughly with some traces of ruin. On the interior there were five busts set in niches: the scientist Isaac Newton, the natural philosopher Locke, two theologians, Dr. Samuel Clarke and William Wollaston, who believed that human reason could discover religious truths without divine revelation and the scientist Robert Boyle. As Judith Colton has long shown, the hermitage at Richmond was therefore a creation celebrating Natural Religion.[85]

Natural Religion as supported by the Neo-platonic tradition and by the Jesuits' reports about Chinese religion, led men's thoughts to a universal divinity who was worshipped in shrines erected by Nature herself: magnificent landscapes

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[84] Joseph Heeley, Letters on the beauties of Hagley, Envil, and the Leasowe, London, 1777, p. 191.

[85] Judith Colton, "Kent's Hermitage for Queen Caroline at Richmond", Architectura, IV, 1974, pp. 181-91; "Merlin's Cave and Queen Caroline: Garden Art as Political Propaganda", Eighteenth Century Studies, 10, 1976-7, pp. 1-20.

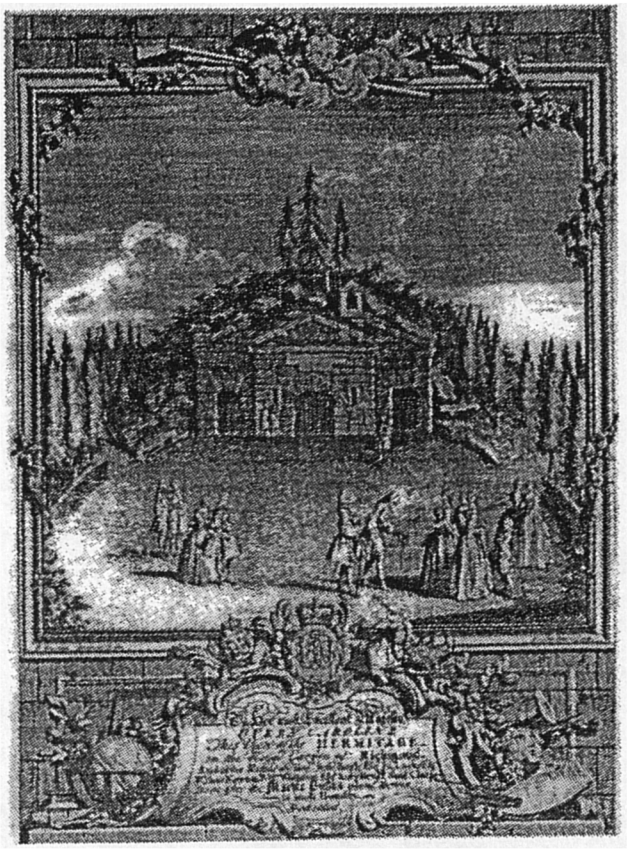

Fig. 127 Richmond gardens, exterior of the Hermitage, from J. Vardy, *Some Designs of Mr. Inigo Jones and Mr. William Kent*, 1744.

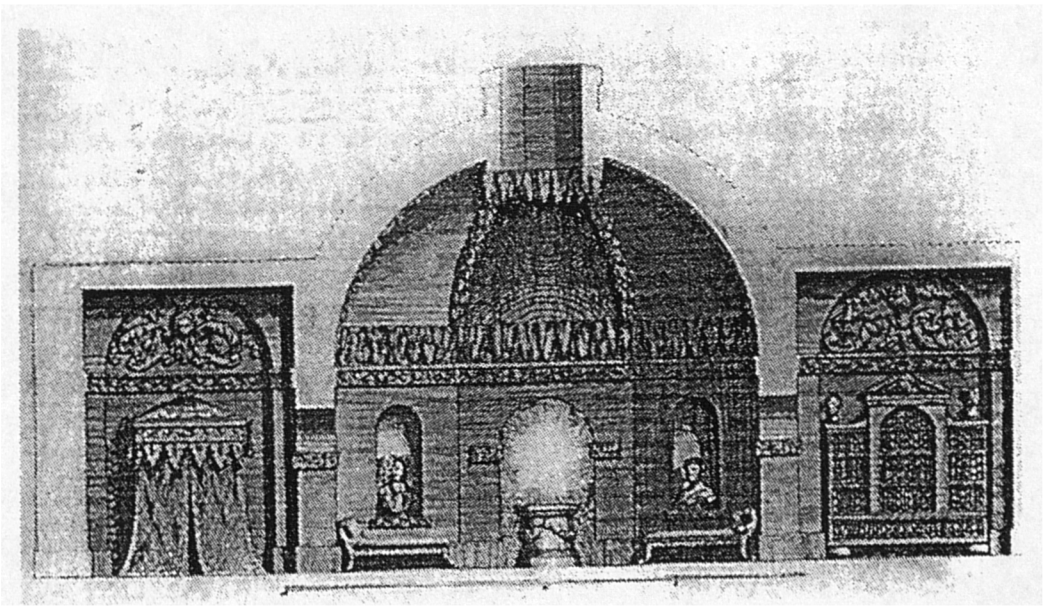

Fig. 128 Richmond gardens, Interior of the Hermitage, from J. Vardy, *Some Designs of Mr. Inigo Jones and Mr. William Kent*, 1744.

or artistic reproductions of such places invested with a sublime atmosphere or the ideal harmony of Nature that might attune men's senses to the message of the divine. Nature in its original form is uncorrupted and moral, and man has therefore to follow this primitive "untamed" Nature (as it was supposed to be represented in the early English landscape garden) if he wants to keep a moral behaviour:

> First follow Nature, and your judgement frame
> By her first standard, which still is the same:
> Unerring NATURE, still divinely bright
> One clear unchanged and universal light.....[86]

As in classical times, the Country became the place of regeneration where man could attain moral perfection far from the corrupted life in the City. After Lyttleton retired from Public office to his country house at Hagley, Shenstone wrote:

> Will Lyttleton leave noisy fame and not regret the change?
> And learn a moral from the rising greens....?[87]

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[86]Alexander Pope, Essay on Criticism, 1708; quoted in David Jacques, "The Art and Sense of the Scribblerus Club in England 1715-35" in Garden History, 1976, pp. 30-53.
[87] W. Shenstone, The Judgment of Hercules, (1740) in: Works 1768, I, p. 234.

In another poem written by Edward Moore and dedicated to Lord Pelham (Esher) we find evidence of this concept of the Country seat as the place where Virtue dwells. The ode is entitled The Discovery and the author describes the figure of Virtue which descends on Esher Place:

O'er Surry's barren heaths she flew,
Descending like the silent dew
On ESHER's peaceful seat.
There she beholds the gentle Mole,
His pensive waters calmly roll,
Amidst Elysian ground:
There through the windings of the grove
She leads her family of Love,
And strews her sweets around.
I hear her bid the Daughters fair
Oft to you gloomy grott repair,
Her secret steps to meet;
Nor Thou, she cries, these shades forsake,
But come, lov'd Consort, come and make
The husband's bliss compleat.
Yet not too much the soothing case
Of rural indolence shall please
My PELHAM's ardent breast;
The man whom VIRTUE calls her own

Must stand the pillar of a throne,

And make a notion blest.[88]

Poets and opposition writers began to take as exemplum of a virtuous life, the agricultural life of early Rome. They elaborated the theme of poverty as the guardian of liberty, like Thomson in the following passage:

Fruitful of Men, hence hard laborious Life,
Which no Fatigue can quell, no Season pierce.
Hence, Independance, with his little pleas'd
Serene, and Self-sufficient, like God;
In whom Corruption could not lodge one Charm,
While he his honest Roots to Gold preferred;
While truly rich, and by his Sabine Field,
The Man maintain'd, the Roman's Splendor all
Was in the Public Wealth and Glory plac'd.[89]

They upheld the Horatian ideal of contentment with a modest competence as a model of life to imitate, like Pope who wrote:

Content with little, I can piddle here
On Broccoli and mutton, round the year;

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[88] Edward Moore, Poems, Fables, and Plays, London, 1984, quoted in Michael Symes, "The landscaping of Esher Place", Journal of Garden History, 1988, Vol.8, n. 4, pp. 63-96.
[89] James Thomson, op. cit., 1738 III, ll. 134-42.

But ancient friends, (tho' poor, or out of play)
That touch my Bell, I cannot turn away.
Tis true, no Turbots dignify my boards,
But gudgeons, flounders, what my Thames affords.[90]

Bolingbroke wrote to Pope and Swift in February (1727): " I am in my farm and here I shoot strong tenacious roots: I have caught hold of the earth (to use a gardener's phrase) and neither my enemies nor my friends will find it an easy matter to transplant me again" [91].

The country became the seat of Virtue and moral behaviour in opposition to the corrupted court whose seat was the City, and contemplative life was seen more valuable than the turmoils of a political career:

Oh, knew he but his happiness, of men
The happiest he! Who far from public rage
Deep in the vale, with a choice few retired.
Drinks the pure pleasures of rural life.[92]

At Chiswick Burlington placed in the exedra the statues of Homer and Virgil, two men of thought, in contrast with the two men of action, Caeser and Pompey, thus probably suggesting that contemplative life was more virtuous than the struggle

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[90]Alexander Pope, Imitations of Horace, 1719 Sat. II, ll. 137-42.
[91]quoted in David Jacques, op.cit.,p.48.
[92] James Thomson, op.cit., 1730, "Autumn", ll. 1235-1238.

for a political career. He himself, as we have seen, decided to retire to a life of rural retreat after having gone into opposition over the Excise Bill in 1733.

The comparison with the retirement of Roman Senators to their Villas was often referred to by writers of this period. Robert Morris in 1734 compared the new English country houses with Roman villas and explained that:

> In such Retreats the Roman Senators were wont to taste the Pleasures of Retirement, to unbend their Minds from the weighty Concerns of their Commonwealth...[93]

However, while the purpose of the retreat to the Roman Villas was to enjoy in private "otium" the country delights, the retreat to the country estate was understood by the intellectuals of the Opposition as a place where one could reflect upon how to improve the future English society. Bolingbroke in his letter Of the True Use of Retirement and Study. To the Right Honourable Lord Bathurst (1752), maintained that it would be possible to " defend and preserve the British Constitution of government" even in "the midst of retreat".[94]

In the poem The Country Seat written in 1731, the poet John Clerk of Penicuik clearly expresses this new concept. After describing a prospect from the Country seat which gives a view on the "great Metropolis or Town" whose " Noise and Tumult" the landlord tries to escape, he maintains that this view and

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[93]R. Morris, Lectures on Architecture. Consisting of Rules Founded Upon Harmonick and Architecture. Consisting of Regular Designs of Plans and Elevations...., 2 Parts, London, 1734/36, pp. 183-184.

[94] Henry St. John Viscount Bolingbroke, op. cit, 1752, vol. II, p. 189-224.

the sound of the chime reverberating through the countryside reminds the landowner of his duties as an "active Patriot":

> Her loud harmonious Bells a warning give
> To shun such powerful draughts of rural Joy
> As may intoxicate the lazy Mind...
> So we our chief Delights should not pursue
> But for our Countrys sake our Cares renew.[95]

Those intellectuals and politicians which were against Walpole or dismissed by him did not withdraw to their country seats with resignation but with the hope of a change in the existing social and political situation. As we have seen above the contemplation of a "primitive nature" and the study of the past were understood only as means to improve the future English society. Thus the county seat was viewed as a utopic place where, far from state control, educated men who believed in the enlightenment ideals could enjoy the intellectual delights of rural solitude, express their political and philosophical ideals through the iconography of their gardens and gather to discuss how to reform the present corrupted English society.

Thomson in a passage from "Summer" exalts these "Social friends....of which vulgar never had a glimpse,...and in whose breasts enthusiastic burns Virtiue...".since they decided to retire to the "Enchanted vale" of the Thames and follow nature's moral law:

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[95] Sir John Clerk of Penicuik, Bt, The Country Seat, 1731; the poem is fully reported in J. Dixon Hunt, P. Willis, op. cit.,1975, p.199.

To nature vast Lyceum, forth they walk;
By that kind school where no proud master reigns,
The full free converse of the friendly heart,
Improving and improved.....
To where the silver Thames first rural grows,
There let the feasted eye unwearied stray;
Luxurious, there, rove through the pendant woods
That nodding hang o'er Harrington's retreat;
And, stopping thence to Ham's embowering walks,
Beneath whose shades, in spotless peace retired,
With her the pleasing partner of his heart,
The worthy Queensberry yet laments his Gay,
And polished Cornbury woos the willing muse,
Slow let us trace the matchless vale of Thames;
Fair-winding up to where the muses haunt
In Twit'nam's bowers, and for their Pope implore
The healing god; the royal Hampton's pile,
To Clermont's terraced height, and Esher's groves,
Where in the sweetest solitude, embraced
By the soft windings of the silent Mole,
From courts and senate Pelham finds repose.[96]

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[96] James Thomson, op. cit., 1730, ll. 1385-1430; Harrington's retreat was Petersham Lodge built in the 1720s for William Stanhope, Earl of Harrington. The pendant woods belonged to one of the very earliest English landscape gardens, laid out before 1713 by an earlier possessor of the estate,

Thus far we have considered how the early landscape garden buildings reflected certain political and philosophical ideals, we need now to find out whether these same ideals were expressed by the architecture of the main building of these estates: the country house.

Henry Hyde, Earl of Rochester. Hyde's second daughter, Kitty, married Charles Douglas, third Duke of Queensberry. John Gay, the poet, lived with the Queensberry at Ham House near Twickenham, for last four years of his life.The Duchess also befriended Congreve, Swift, Prior and Pope. Hyde's son was Henry, Viscount Cornbury, a High Church Tory MP., friend of Bolingbroke, Pope and Swift. The brilliant Ham House circle was a centre of opposition to Walpole and George II.

The Country House, Neo-Palladianism and Venice

The eighteenth century country house was the centre of an organic whole made up of man and nature. It had a function in the community as the centre of a complex web of relationships which made up the fabric of civilized living. It was the embodiment of a natural bond between lord and tenant. This ideal of a pleasurably harmonious rural society is symbolized by the integration of the house and grounds within its landscape indicating the benign effects the house had over its estate.

The house intended as an agricultural centre reflects the ideals expressed by the poets of the time. One major tenet of Thomson's The Seasons is that cultivation denotes civil advance. Pope believed in the use of the country estate not for *otium* only but as a means to serve the community by improving the soil. His belief is proved both by his literary works (Epistle to Lord Burlington, Windsor Forest) and by his own garden which contained, as we have seen, a small vineyards, a greenhouse and a kitchen garden, all planted for use as well as ornament.

Professor Hibbard in his article on the country house poem demonstrates how the house synthesized a series of conventions to do with an ideal of country life which is intimately connected with the idea of a georgic rural retirement.[97]

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[97] G.B. Hibbard, "The Country House Poem of the Seventeenth Century" in Maynard Mack, Essential Articles for the study of Alexander Pope, London, 1964, Frank Class and Company Ltd., pp. 401-438.

Thus the house embodies a certain way of life, the contented moral, traditional life of the country where man and nature are working together in an harmonious way. The house can play this role in the community because the family who live in it have been properly brought up. We have seen how the statuary near the house at Rousham refers to the social virtues and the civilised activities practiced by the family who lived there.

After all this it appears evident that we cannot consider house and grounds as two separate entities. Firstly because the house stood for morality, virtue, utility and civilisation which were the same philosophical ideals expressed through the architecture of the gardens. Secondly because the same people who designed the houses often took part in the creation of the garden. Having established this we now need to find out whether the country house also conveys the same political ideals of the garden.

The development of the irregular garden coincides with the revival of Palladian architecture in England and many country houses were built in this style. The appraisal of Palladio had actually started in seventeenth century England and the English architect Inigo Jones had been the first person to own a copy of the Palladio's Quattro Libri (still kept at Worcester College of Oxford)[98]. He was the first to embrace the Italian Renaissance ideology that only theory raises architecture to the level of art.[99]

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[98] In this he was preceded by a few years by Henry Wotton, who was ambassador in Venice from 1604-1612. In his Elements of Architecture (1624) he praised Palladio several times.

[99] Annarosa Cerutti Fusco, Inigo Jones Vitruvius Britannicus, Jones and Palladio nella cultura architettonica inglese 1600-1740, Rimini 1985; Manfredo Tafuri," La Fortuna del Palladio alla fine del 500 e l'Architettura di Inigo Jones", Bollettino C.I.S.A., XII 1970, pp.47-61.

Towards the middle of the seventeenth century, Palladio was already famous in England and English travellers used to stop at Vicenza to admire Palladio's buildings and especially the Rotonda (Villa Capra)[100]. John Raymond, one of these travellers, who was in Italy in 1646-7 and published his Intinerary in 1649 wrote that the Rotonda was Palladio's "Master-piece; for tis so contrived that it contains Geometrically a Round, a Crosse, and a square...".[101] Raymond's comments are very interesting because they reveal the English connoisseurs' complete awareness of the relation between classical and Palladian architecture. According to Raymond the Rotonda was "so called from the Cupola at the top, or likeness it hath with the Pantheon at Rome".[102]

After the death of Inigo Jones in 1653 and his disciple John Webb, English architects began to be more attracted by the architectural styles of Holland and France than Vicenza. The Palladian style however didn't die out and continued to exert a certain influence in the course of the seventeenth century. This was presumably because you could consult the Quattro Libri and use it as a pattern book. As Summerson has stated, Wren seems to have an high consideration of Palladio's expertise on Roman temples and in his two projects for the Library of Trinity College in Cambridge (1674) and Greenwich Hospital (1694) he was probably inspired by the original Palladian models of Villa Foscari of Mira and Villa Trissino at Meledo.[103] During the so called "English baroque", Palladian

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[100] Nikolaus Pevsner," Palladio and Europe" in Atti del XVIII Congresso Internazionale di Storia dell'Arte, Venezia, 1956, pp. 81-93.
[101] John Raymond, An Intinerary Containing a Voyage made through Italy in the yeare 1646 and 1647, Illustrated with divers figures of Antiquities never before published, London, 1648, p. 225.
[102] Ibid.
[103] John Summerson, "Palladio e gli Inglesi" Bollettino C.I.S.A., XV 1973, pp.9-25.

influence was so diluted that it is now difficult to identify it. However, Hawksmoor, who was interested in ancient Roman buildings, according to Summerson, probably knew the archaeological culture of Palladio even if his source of documentation seems to be Vitruvius by Perrault more than Palladio's Quattro Libri.[104] On the other hand, John Vanbrugh, apparently, knew the work of Palladio quite well. He owned an edition of his Quattro Libri and designed the country house of Lord Carlisle, Castle Howard (started in 1669) and the Temple of Four Winds (1724) where he most certainly took as a model Palladio's Rotonda.[105] As we have seen the position and function of the temple as belvedere suggests a real understanding of Palladio's original. By now however, an all-pervading Palladian revival was well under way and this was in opposition to the English baroque. It was started by the publication of two books by two different authors: Colen Campbell's Vitruvius Britannicus in 1715 and Giacomo Leoni's translation of Palladio's Quattro Libri in 1716.

Colen Campbell's short career as architect lasted from 1712 to 1729. He designed a dozen country seats, among them Wanstead in Essex (1715), Houghton in Norfolk (1722), (Fig. 129) Goodwood House (1724).[106] The size of Wanstead House and Houghton suggests more a palace than a villa and this kind of Anglo-Palladian Great House, as Stuchbury classifies it [107], had a series of derivatives of which Holkham Hall and Prior Park (Fig. 130) are the most famous examples. The last design of Wanstead shows the building as a 260 feet long

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[104] Ibid.
[105] Nikolaus Pevsner, op. cit, pp.15-16; K. Downes, Sir John Vanbrugh, London, 1987.
[106] Colen Campbell, Vitruvius Britannicus, II, III, London, 1715-25.
[107] H.E. Stuchbury, The Architecture of Colen Campbell, Manchester, 1967, pp.118-126.

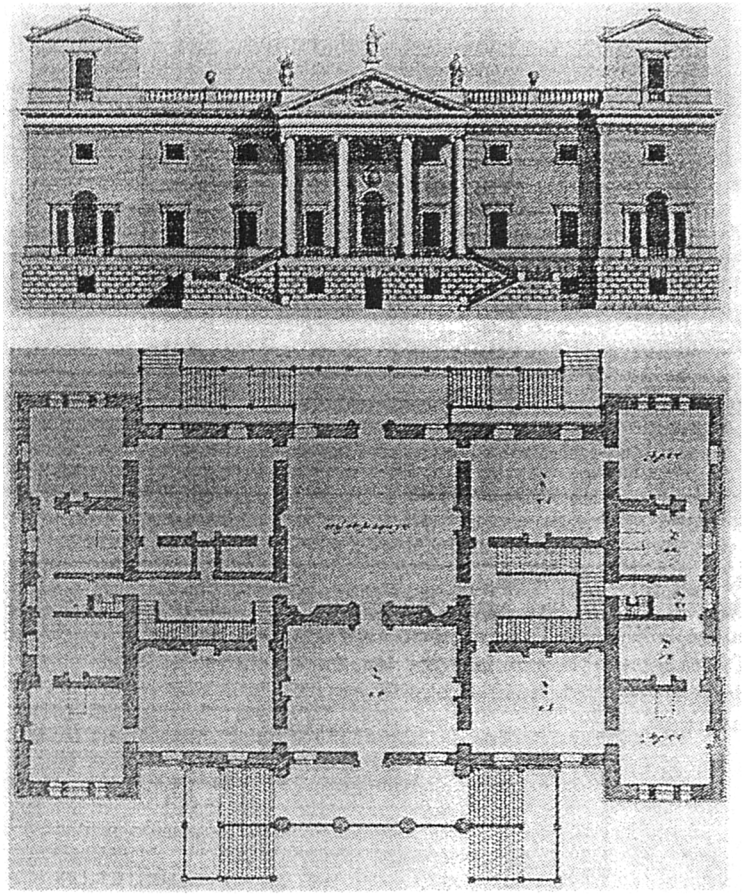

Fig. 129 Houghton Hall, proposed elevation of the garden front, from *Vitruvius Britannicus* III, 1725.

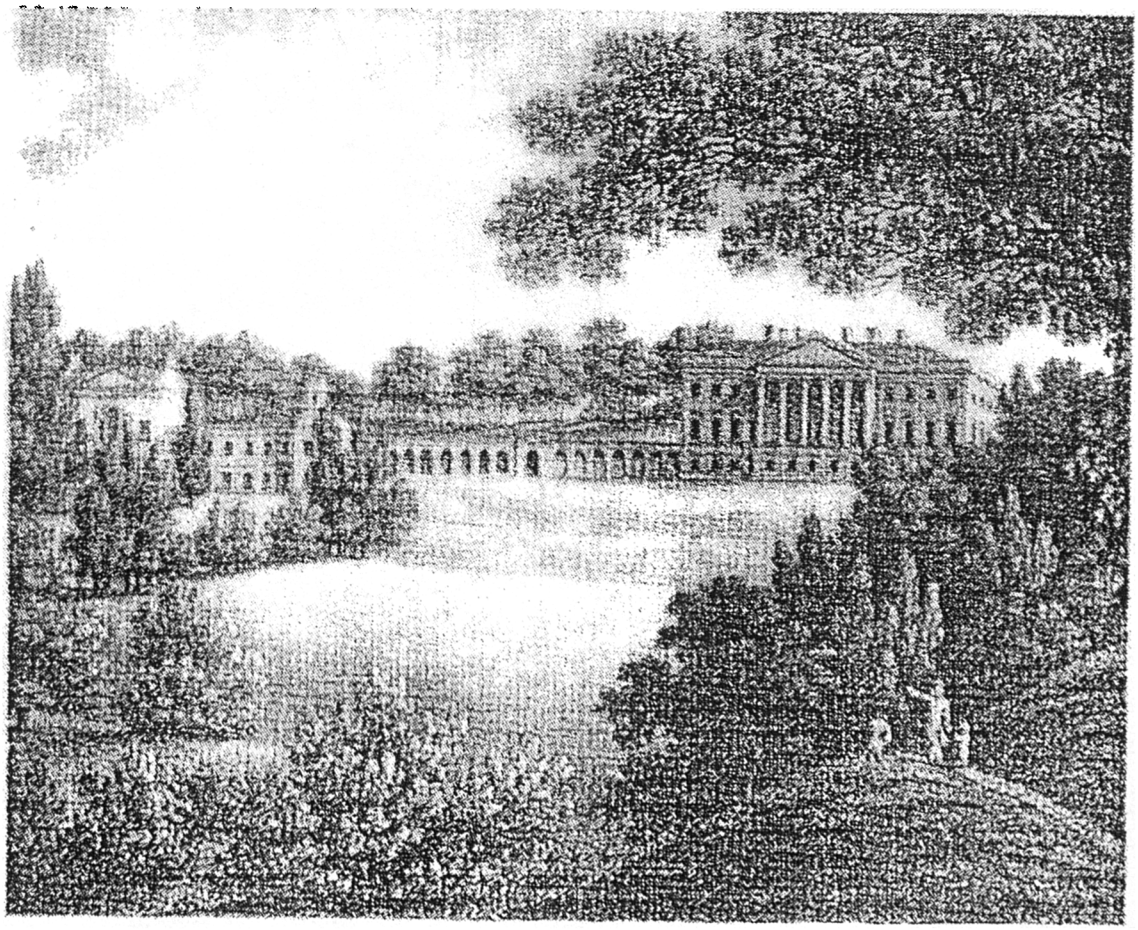

Fig. 130 Prior Park, Bath, by John Wood. Engraving by W. Watts, *Picturesque Views*, 1785.

rectangular block, having a heightened central hexastyle portico with a pediment which rises above the upper cornice balustrade and flanked on either side by lower wings (Fig. 131). The design was based upon Palladio's model of Palazzo Thiene of which exists a design by Campbell.[108] (Fig. 132)

Campbell 's plan was to remodel the English country house following Vitruvius, Palladio and Inigo Jones. Together with these great houses, he produced three Neo-Palladian Villas between 1720-1724 which were to become the prototype of the English country house: Newby in Yorkshire and Stourhead in Wiltshire (Fig. 133), both of them based on Villa Emo at Fanzolo (Fig. 134) and Mereworth villa in Kent, the seat of John Fane later Earl of Westmoreland (Fig. 135), which is a copy of the Rotonda. The essence of the Anglo-palladian villa was based upon a square or nearly a square plan clearly divided into three. The central block wider than the other two and expressed on one or both fronts by an actual or implied temple front of a projecting tetrastyle portico or an engaged columnar or pilaster frontispiece while the flanking elements were expressed in one fenestration bay only.

It is usually understood that Colen Campbell spurred Lord Burlington - the most famous exponent of English Palladianism- to revive the classical purity of Palladio and Jones. Lord Burlington had travelled in Italy in 1714-15 but took little notice of Palladio. Only on his second journey to Italy in 1719 did he study Palladio intensely. He also bought a whole pocket of unpublished Palladio drawings of Roman Baths at Maser, which he was later to discuss and illustrate

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[108] Colen Campbell, op. cit., I, plates 28-30, p. 4.

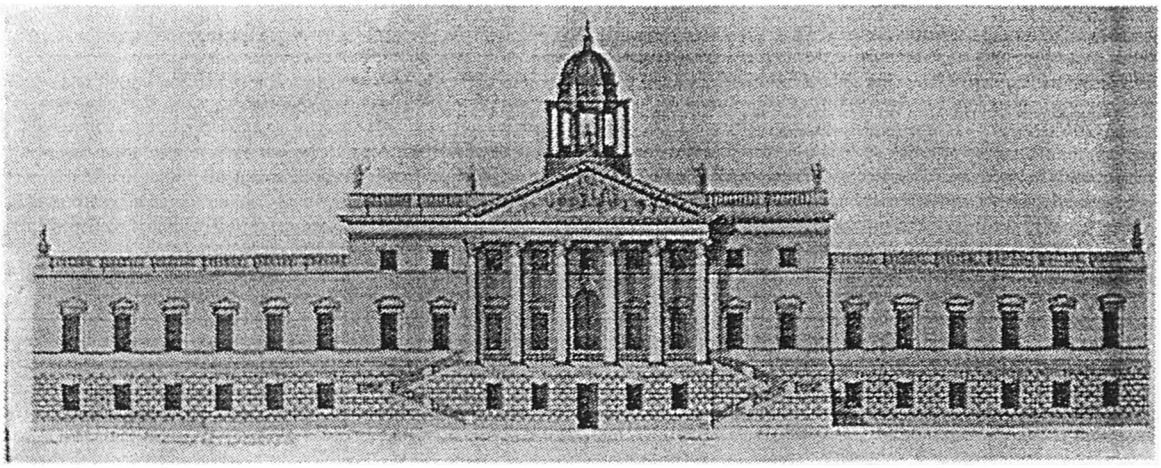

Fig. 131 Wanstead House, Essex. Colen Campbell, *Vitruvius Britannicus* III, 1720-1.

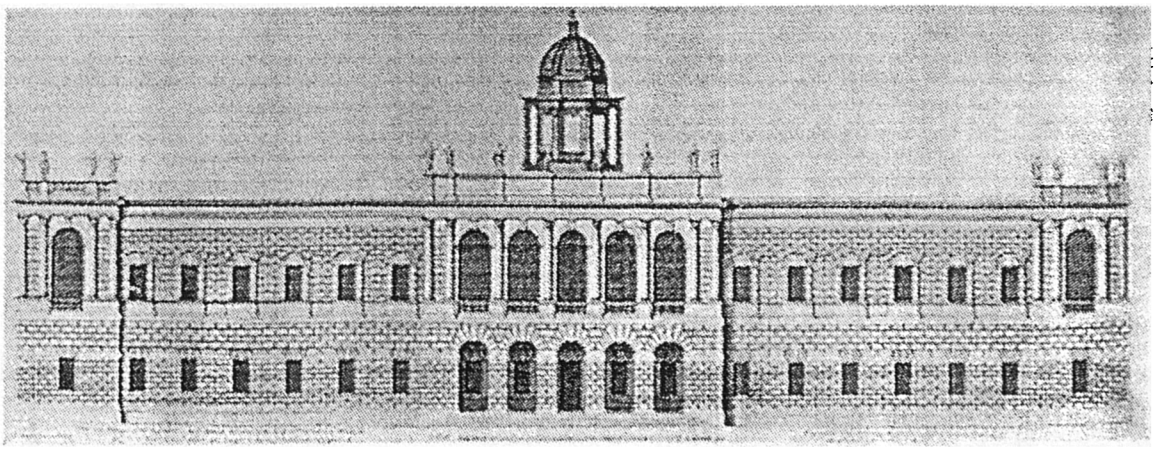

Fig. 132 Palazzo Thiene façade,Colen Campbell, *Vitruvius Britannicus*, 1715.

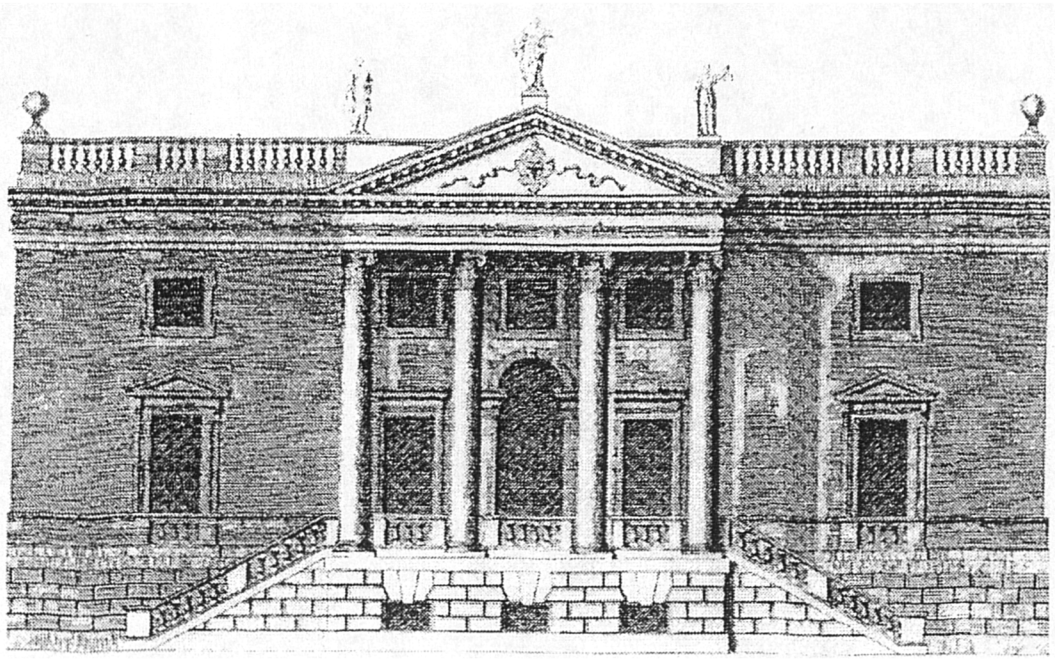

Fig. 133 Stourhead, Wiltshire. Colen Campbell, Vitruvius Britannicus IV, 1725

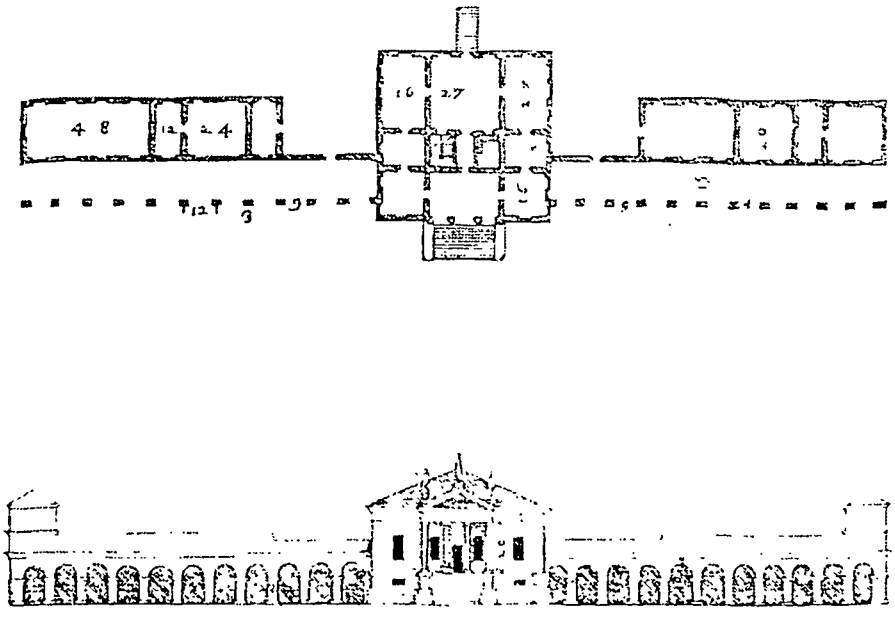

Fig. 134 Andrea Palladio, the Villa Emo from *I Quattro Libri dell' Architettura*, II, 1570

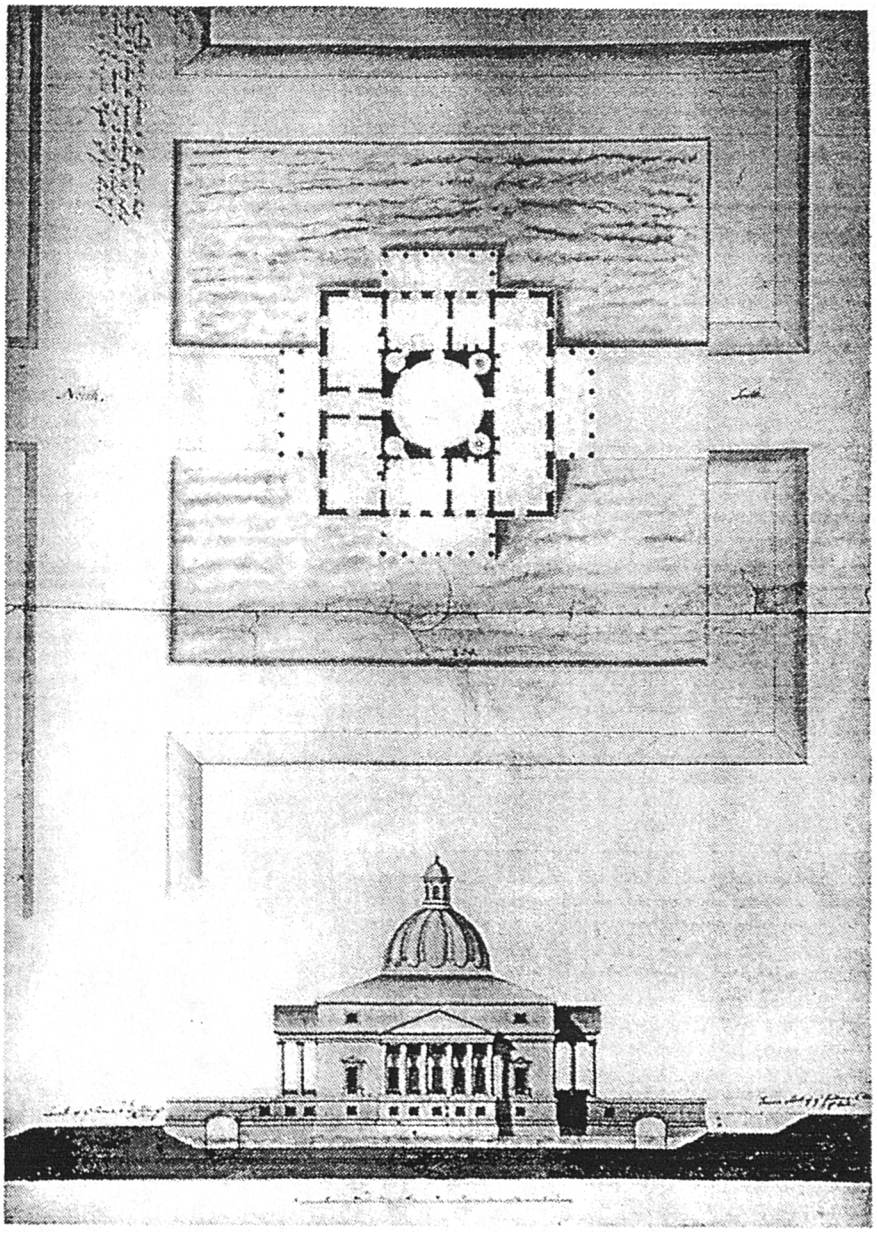

Fig. 135 Mereworth Castle, Kent, Colen Campbell. Plan of villa and moat and elevation of front with section through moat. Pen and wash (730x510).

in his book Fabbriche Antiche disegnate da Andrea Palladio in 1730.[109] In addition William Kent's Designs of Inigo Jones came out in 1727 sponsored by Lord Burlington.[110] Closely assisted by his protégé William Kent, Burlington began to create a series of architectural exemplars, all of them derived from imaginative adaptation of Palladian sources. These included the villa at Chiswick (an improvisation on Palladio's Rotonda and Scamozzi's Villa Pisani), the façade of general Wade's town house and the Egyptian Hall in the York Assembly Rooms, based on Palladio's interpretation of Vitruvius' Egyptian Hall. He also planned the country house at Tottenham Park in Wiltshire and took part in the project of Holkham in Norfolk, the country seat of Thomas Coke, 1st Earl of Leicester, another connoisseur, who went to Italy on his Grand Tour in 1712-1718 and there received a formal training in architecture[111].

Chiswick Villa was, together with Mereworth castle, the most overtly Palladian house in Georgian England (Fig. 136, 137, 138) The villa has a generic link with both the Rotonda (Fig.139) and Rocca Pisani by Scamozzi (Fig. 140). The chimney-obelisks are derived from Rocca Pisani. The garden elevation has a triplet of Venetian windows, each inscribed in an arch, a motif taken directly from a drawing by Palladio, while the side elevations have a single central Venetian window as has the Rocca Pisani. The staircases that lead up to the balustrated hexastyle portico on the entrance front are Burlington best contribution to this mélange of sources. Inside Chiswick Villa the rooms are more varied in shape

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[109] Rudolf Wittkower, Palladio and English Palladianism, London 1974, Chap. 8, pp. 115-132.
[110] Ibid.
[111] Leo Schmidt, "Holkham Hall, Norfolk", Country Life, January 24, 1980, pp. 214-217.

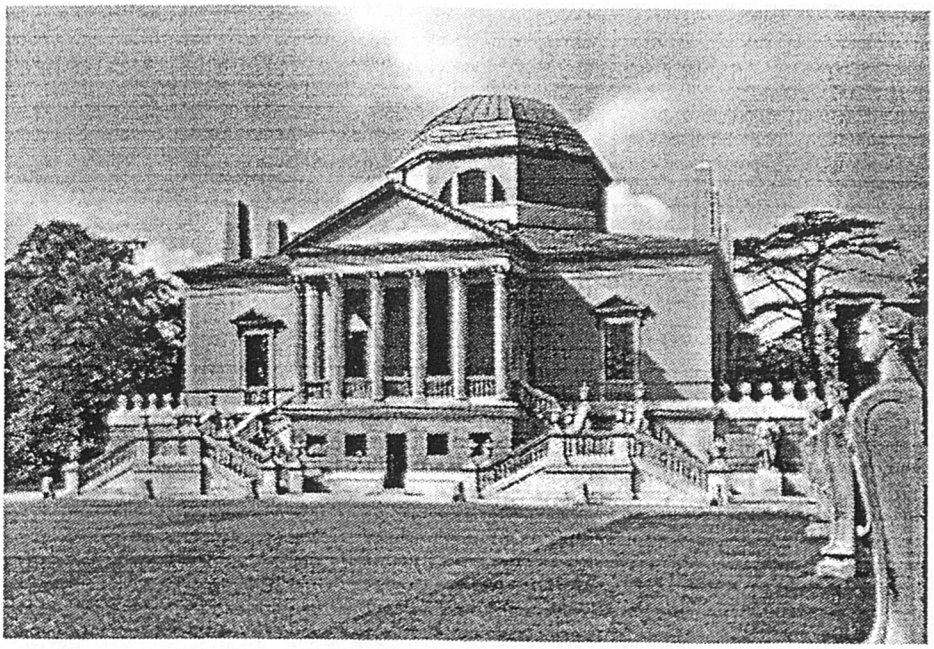

Fig. 136 Chiswick Villa. Entrance front

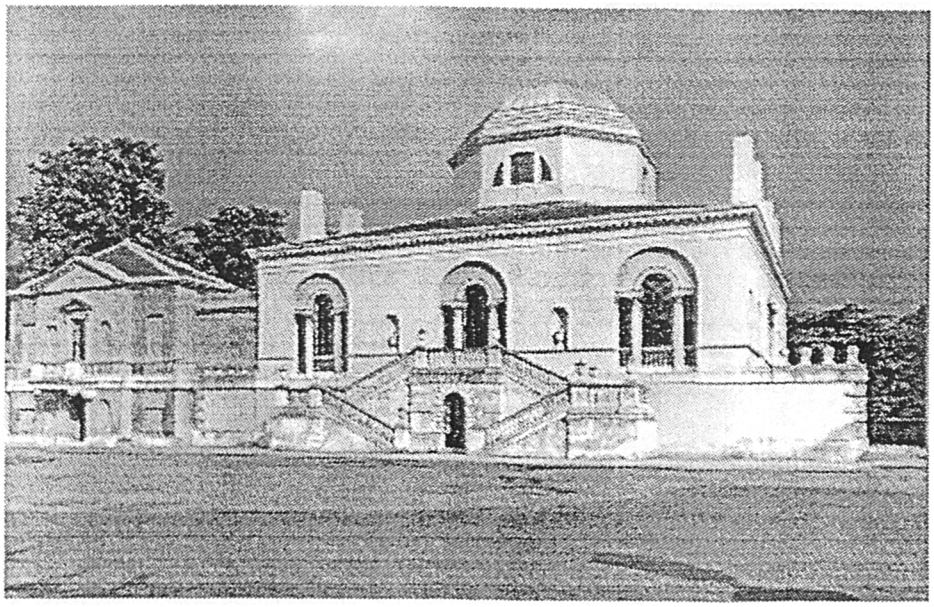

Fig. 137 Chiswick Villa. The garden front with its triplets of Venetian windows.

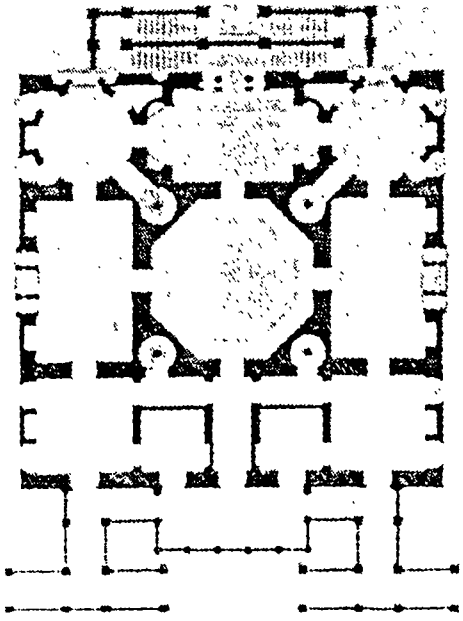

Fig. 138 Chiswick Villa. Plan of the principal floor from Kent, *The Designs of Inigo Jones*, 1727

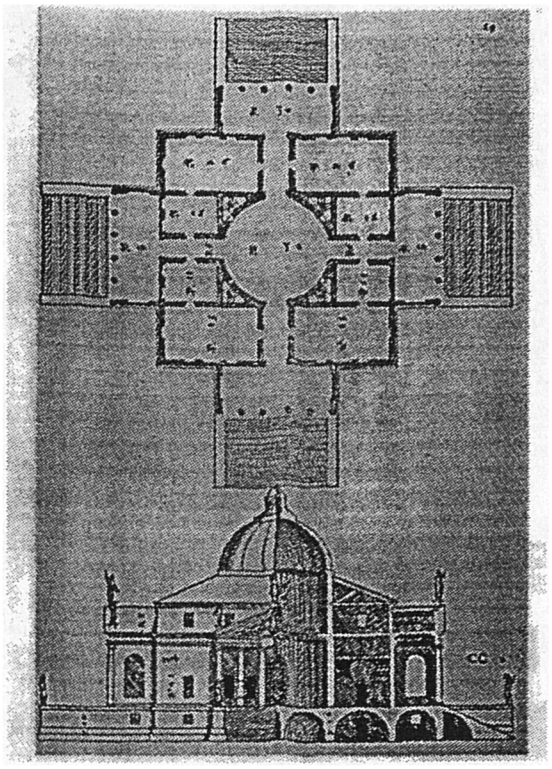

Fig. 139 A. Palladio, plan and elevation/ section of the Villa Rotonda, begun 1565/66 from *I Quattro Libri del'Architettura,* Book II.

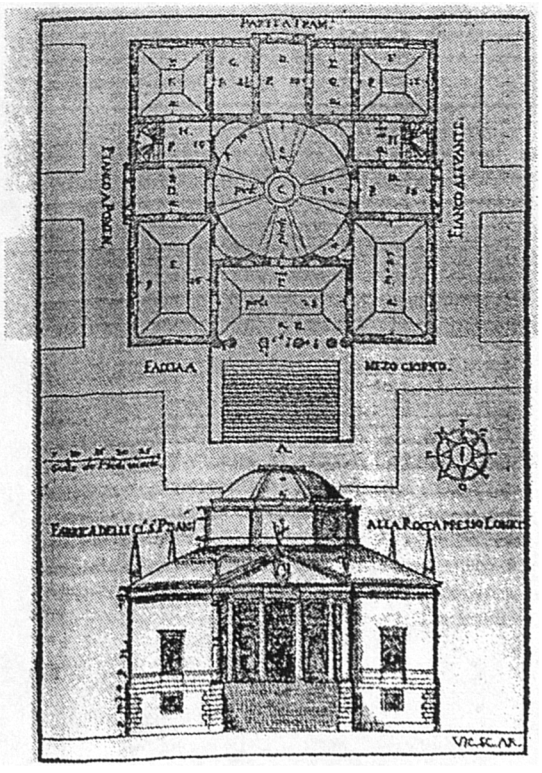

Fig. 140 Vincenzo Scamozzi, Rocca Pisani, Lonigo, 1576. Plan of the principal floor and southern elevation from *L'Idea dell'Architettura Universale*, 1615, Book III, and view from the south east.

than those of the Rotonda and recall the plans of Palladio made of Roman baths.[112] While Chiswick represents the temple-like villa form, Twickenham Park and Holkham are bigger in size and very close to Campbell's Anglo-palladian Great Houses. The overall composition of these two buildings consists of a central house with four wing buildings, two on either side defining courts. At Holkham the garden front has a hexastyle portico and two Venetian windows and both the portico and the windows are similar to Chiswick (Fig. 141, 142).

A famous amateur architect, in Burlington's circle, who also based his designs on Palladio and Inigo Jones was Henry Herbert 9th Earl of Pembroke. He went to Venice in 1712 and the only surviving house associated with his name is Marble Hill which he designed with Roger Morris. His own house at Whitehall, the White Lodge at Richmond and Wimbledon Park are either destroyed or altered.[113] Marble Hill (Fig. 143) was built in 1724 for Mrs Henrietta Howard who in 1731 became countess of Suffolk. The plan was based upon the most popular Palladian prototype Villa Emo at Fanzolo, without the loggia. Marble Hill became the centre of an important account of Palladian design theory published by Robert Morris (1701-54).Without naming the building, Robert Morris in his work An Essay in Defence of Ancient Architecture (1728) offered the plan and elevation of the villa as an example of the true application of ancient principles (Fig. 144).

Herbert went on to design the Palladian Bridge at Wilton House built by Roger Morris in 1737-8. This Palladian Bridge, which is not a copy of any bridge built by Palladio but was extracted by Pembroke from a specimen bridge in

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[112] Robert Tavernor, Palladio and Palladianism, London, 1991, pp. 151-176.
[113] James Lees-Milne, Earls of Creation, London, 1962 , pp.83-92.

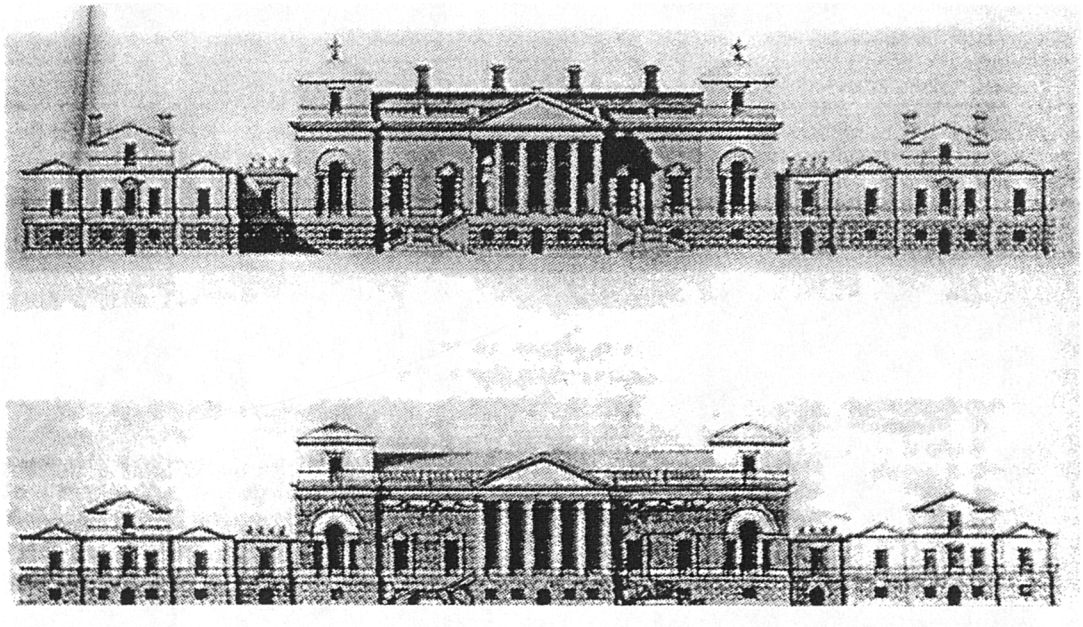

Fig.141 Two alternative designs for the South front at Holkham by William Kent, Lord Leicester collection, Holkham.

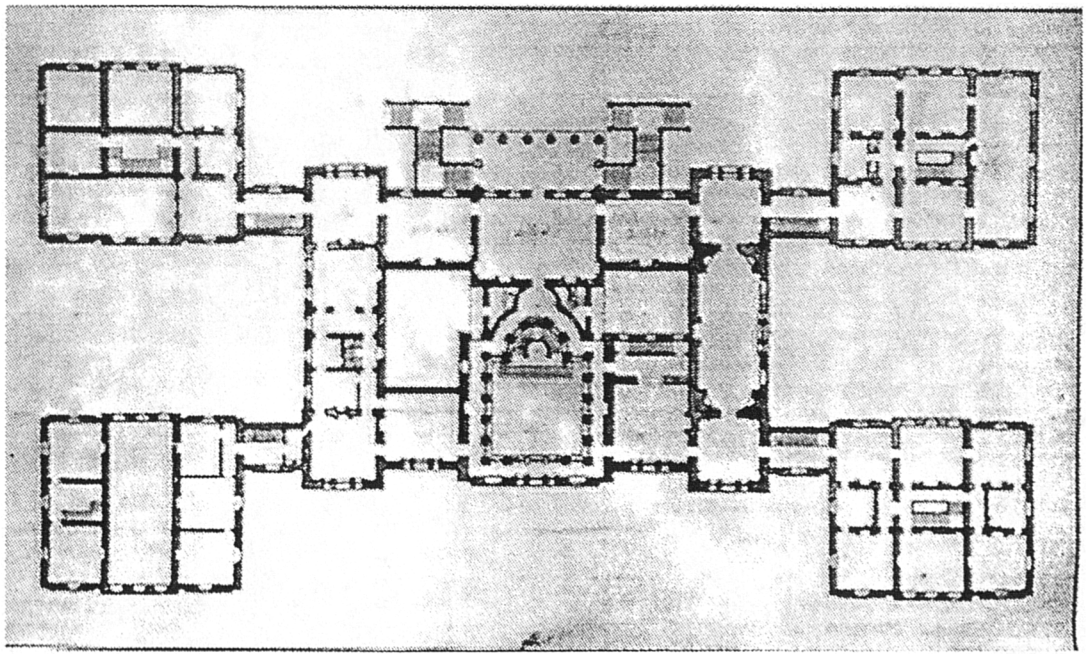

Fig. 142 Ground plan of Holkham by William Kent, Lord Leicester collection, Holkham.

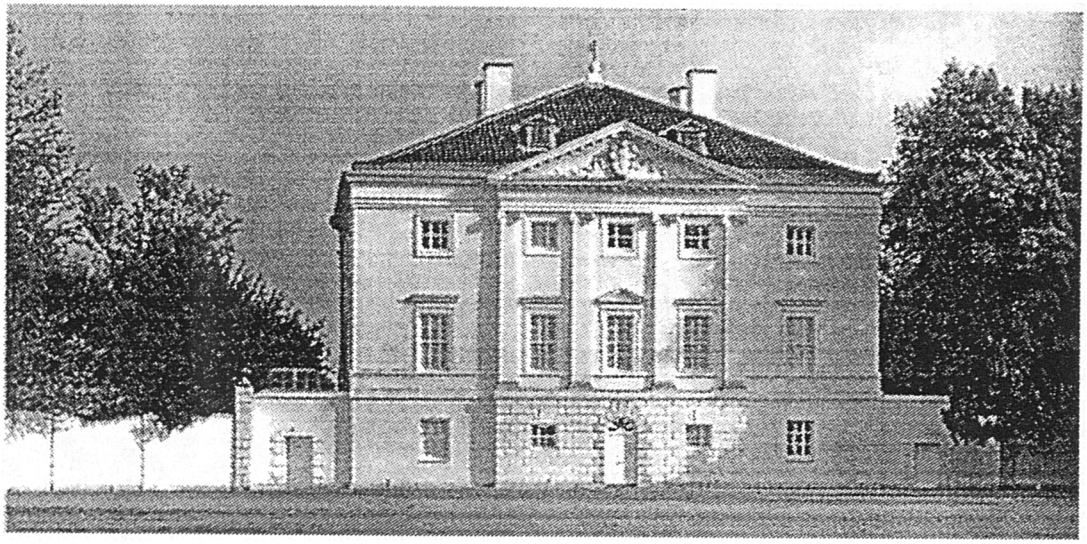

Fig. 143 Marble Hill, Twickenham, 1724-26 by Lord Herbert and Roger Morris

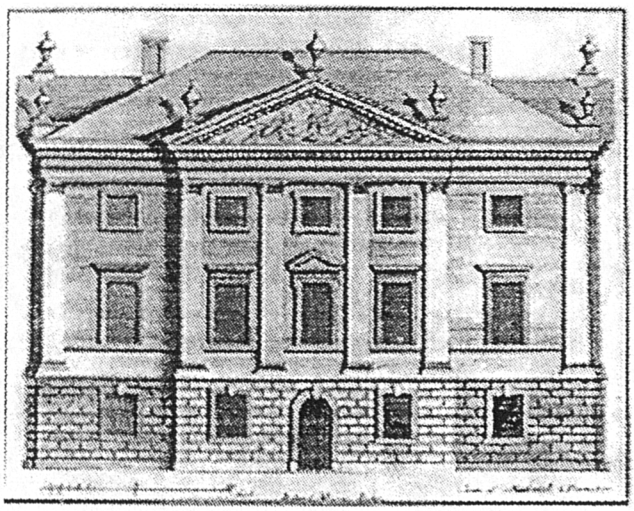

Fig. 144 Roger Morris: design for a house based on Marble Hill, from *An essay in Defence of Ancient Architecture*, 1728

Palladio's Third Book[114], was so much appreciated that at least four copies were made within the next forty years : at Stowe (by William Kent), Prior Park (by John Wood), Hagley and Amesbury. Wilton House is also to be counted among the prototypes of the Anglo-palladian Great Houses, since both Holkham and Houghton were indebted to Wilton for their massing and corner towers (Fig. 145). Italian precedents of the design of towers were to be found in the work of Palladio but more directly in that of his pupil Scamozzi[115] (Fig. 146). A version of the three-light Venetian window provided the central piece of Wilton façade and is the one motif which everybody associated with English Palladianism since Palladio used this motif on a grand scale at the Basilica in Vicenza (Fig. 147).

By the end of the 1730s the Palladianism of Burlington and Kent had become a recognized formula. However Burlington's main contribution to the movement was the architectural publishing which he encouraged even though he was not always involved directly. Together with the two works of his protégé Robert Morris[116], An Essay in Defence of Ancient Architecture (1735) and Lectures on Architecture (1734) another book which shows a Palladian influence is the Complete Body of Architecture (1735) written by Isaac Ware, a member of Burlington circle. In 1741 John Wood wrote The Origin of Building or the

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[114] He adopted the design directly from that which Palladio had executed for the competition of the Rialto Bridge in Venice. It is included in the Third Book on pages 70-71 and Plates IX and X.
[115] John Bold, Wilton House and English Palladianism, London, 1988, pp. 25-95.
[116] Robert Morris is a kinsman and disciple of the architect Roger Morris who worked with Lord Pembroke and belonged to Lord Burlington's circle.

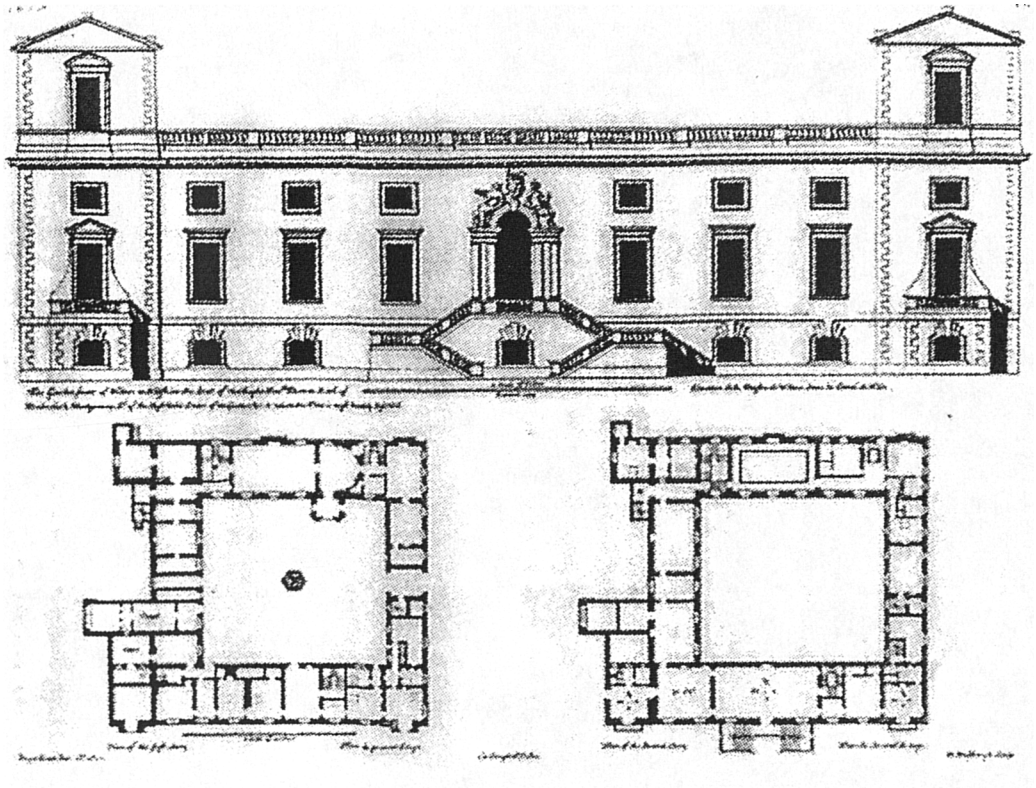

Fig. 145 Wilton, Elevation of south front and plans of the ground and first floors from Colen Campbell, *Vitruvius Britannicus*, II, 1717.

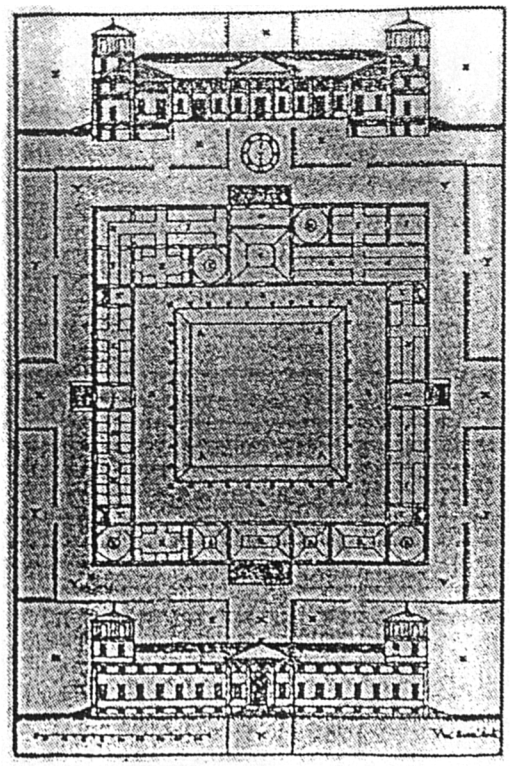

Fig. 146 Vincenzo Scamozzi: design from *L'Idea dell'Architettura Universale*, I, III, 1615.

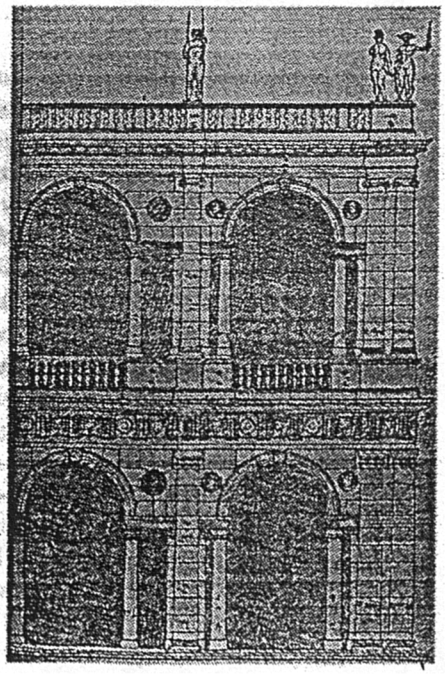

Fig. 147 Detail from Palladio's *I Quattro Libri dell'Architettura*, Book III, Basilica, Vicenza, 1546-1617.

Plagiarism of the Heathen Detected[117] where he also refers to Palladio and Vitruvius. He built in 1735-43 Prior Park, the country house of Ralph Allen. The house raised on a high basement, the columned and pedimented porch and the wings tied to the main house by arcades makes this country residence Palladian.

There were also minor authors like William and John Halfpenny and Batty Langley who produced a number of pocket books addressed to amateurs and dilettante landlords, where the teachings of Vitruvius and Palladio were simplified and explained so that each country gentleman or builder could understand them.[118]

As a result of all these publications even amateurs and non-professional architects could build a Palladian house and an approximate Palladianism with other influences, dissociated from the high values with which Burlington and his circle were concerned, became the practice of this period. Alexander Pope in his Epistle to Burlington (1731), applauding the vision of his patron, he decried this Palladianism impoverishment by "imitating fools":

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[117] John Wood designed in the Palladian style Prior Park the country house of Ralph Allen, post master of Bath and the main buildings of Bath. His book is a theoretical almost philosophical work where he puts forward the thesis that the principles of classical architecture, which can be identified in Vitruvian doctrine, derived from the Jews and are detectable in the Solomon temple which thus becomes the best example of classical architecture.

[118] William Halfpenny is not very well known as an architect, he is famous only for his treatises as he published about twenty-one books on architecture from 1722 to 1755. While in his first works he is Palladian in his last works he includes Chinese style, Gothic revival. Among his Palladian works are: A. Palladio's Four Books of Architecture (1751), Practical Architecture (1724), The Art of Sound Building (1725), The Builder's Packet Companion (1728). Batty Langley was son of a Twickenham gardener and his first work was a book on gardening New Principles of Gardening (1726) and he was the first to suggest a non-geomatrical garden.. He published about 25 books on Architecture from 1726 to 1751 and together with Halfpenny he is the most famous author of manuals. Amongs his works are: A Sure guide to Builders, or the Principles and Practice of Architecture (1729), The City and Country Builder's and Workman's Treasury of Designs or the Art of Drawing and Working the Ornamental Parts of Architecture (1740), Ancient Masonry Both in Theory and in practice, 2 Vols., 1734 2nd edition 1736. See Margherita Azzi Visentini , "La Fortuna del Neopalladianesimo inglese e la letteratura Neopalladiana minore" in Comunita',170, Ottobre 1973, pp. 322-406.

You show us, Rome was glorious, not profuse,

And pompous Buildings once were things of use.

Just as they are, yet shall your noble Rules,

Fill half the land with Imitating Fools;

Who random Drawings from your Sheets shall take,

And of one Beauty many Blunders make;

Load some vain Church with old Theatric State,

Turn Arcs of Triumph to a Garden-gate;

Reverse your Ornaments, and hang them all

On some patch'd Dog hole ek'd with Ends of Wall;

Then clap four slices of Pilaster on't,

And, lac'd with bits of Rustic, 'tis a front

Shall call the Winds thro' long Arcades to roar

Proud to catch cold at a Venetian door;

Conscious they act a true Palladian part,

And if they starve, they starve by Rules of Art.

Yet thou proceed; be fallen Arts thy care,

Erect new Wonders, and the Old repair,

Jones and Palladio to themselves restore

And be whate'er Vitruvius was before...[119]

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[119] Alexander Pope, Epistle to Lord Burlington, London, 1731.

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As this short account indicates, there was, apparently, a major shift in architectural taste towards perceiving the North East of Italy to be the source of the most appropriate models. There was, traditionally, a particular perception of Venice and Venetian history which made the historic city a model for certain English thinkers, for Venice, like England, was at the source of a maritime trading empire and a place which perceived itself to have developed an exemplary government.

Venice with its system of government had always represented to the English people an example of the ideal modern state: it was praised for its stability, the swiftness of its justice, the experience of its senators, the methods of election. Venice was considered as the embodiment of political reason, a virtue that had previously been manifested chiefly by the ancients and because of certain peculiarities claimed for her history she was seen as the means by which political wisdom had been transmitted to the modern world.[120] For she had, as her admirers insisted, come out of the ancient world but had avoided its general collapse. As Isaac Ware wrote, Venice was the only state : " where all good art flourish and which only remains a an example of the grandeur and magnificence of the Romans ".[121]

Venice was the living proof of what the eighteenth-century opposition theorists longed to believe: that ancient political virtue could find expression in

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[120] Z.S. .Fink, op.cit , pp. 34-35; John Hale, England and the Italian Renaissance, London, 1963, pp.9-37

[121] Isaac Ware, A. Palladio The Four Books of Architecture, London, 1738, pp. 1-3.

the modern world.[122] The comparison between Venice and the admirable policies of antiquity, occasionally those of Greece but primarily those of Rome, filled eighteenth-century discussions of Venice but started well before during the sixteenth and seventeenth century.[123] Thus in a poem attributed to Marvell, Britannia, after expressing disgust with conditions at home the author says:

> To the serene Venetian state I 'le goe
> From her sage mouth fam'd Principles to know,
> With her the Prudence of the Ancients read,
> To teach my People in their steps to tread.
> By those great Patterns such a state I'le frame
> Shall darken story, Ingross loudmouth'd fame." [124]

Other writers did not hesitate to find Venice far superior to Rome like James Howell who observed that all ancient Commonwealths including the Roman: "

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[122] See Chapter "The Early English landscape garden and the ideals of the Opposition". The classical theme was an important part of the Whig formula, already adopted by the Republicans during the English Revolution.

[123] In 1599 Lewkenor Lewes translated Giuseppe Contarini, The commonwealth and government of Venice, London, 1599; In 1612 John Shute translated Fougasses' Generall history of the magnificent state of Venice; At the same time the appearance of English versions of Botero's Treatise concerning the causes of the magnificence and greatness of cities (1606) and Boccalini's The new- found politicke (1629) made extended descriptions of the republic ready avaible. Other translations, the works of English political writers like James Howell A Survey of the Signorie of Venice of her admired policy and method of government, London, 1651, and description of Venetian government by travellers of the age (John Raymond, Intinerary countaining a voyage made trough Italy in the years 1646 and 1647, London, 1648, R. Lassels, The Voyage of Italy, Paris, 1670) continued throughout the seventeenth century.

[124] Andrew Marvell, Britannia and Rawleigh, in The Poems and Letters of Andrew Marvell ed. by H.M. Margoliouth, Oxford, 1952, I, p.188.

may be sayed to have bin but Mushrumps in point of duration if compared to the Signorie of Venice "[125].

As Republicanism developed in the England of the seventeenth century men's thoughts turned back to the mixed politics of the antique world for their ideal and in an England where the conception had been developing for half a century that Venice was the modern counterpart of the antique republics, turning back to Rome ment also turning back to Venice. During the Commonwealth period in a utopian treatise, dedicated to Cromwell, The Commonwealth of Oceana (1656), James Harrington lay the foundations for a body of political thought that permeated the Anglo-American understanding of government until well into the eighteenth century and the model of this utopian kind of government was the republic of Venice. The philosopher Hume referring to Oceana wrote: " Oceana is the only valuable model of a Commonwealth that has yet been offered to the public".[126] What made the Venetian Republic particularly attractive to Harrington was its mixed constitution with the Doge representing monarchy, the Senate and the Council of Ten aristocracy and the Great Council democracy. He also admired the stability of the Venetian Republic and advised that a Commonwealth should have certain devices (like the Council of Ten in Venice) to keep it in balance once the equilibrium had been established. Equality among the governing class's members was another keystone of Venetian constitution, which was admired in Oceana. All the nobility had access to office and there was a

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[125] James Howell, op. cit., p. 203.
[126] Z.S. Fink, op. cit., Ch. 3, "Immortal Government: Oceana", pp. 52-89.

continuous circulation and exchange inside the ruling class.[127] Venice was thus perceived to supply an excellent prototype for the mixed constitution on which England so prided itself.

Harrington's vision of the republic was revived after the Glorious Revolution by the so called Old Whigs those who believed in the Commonwealth Whig ideas and were not content with the behaviour of the Whigs in power. One group of them, the Neo-Harringtonians, associated with Shaftesbury, reprinted and propagated Harrington's Oceana.[128] Not only Old Whigs but also disaffected Tories started to support these ideas. The opposition Tory Edward Harley, 2nd. Earl of Oxford, an early eighteenth century patron equal to Lord Burlington for his love of the Arts[129], intimate friend of Pope and Swift and patron of the palladian architect John Wood[130], encouraged John Toland (one of the promoters of the English republican legacy) to reprint Harrington's Oceana[131].

Not just Venetian history but its historians were also admired because of their capacity to reveal effectively the truth: Sarpi and Davila were compared to the best historians of antiquity.[132] Bolingbroke praised Davila as equal to Livy[133]. Milton was grateful to Sarpi for his contributions as an historian to liberty of

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[127] Ibid.
[128] J.A. Pocock, Politics, Language, Time, London, 1971, pp. 115-133.
[129] John Harris, "Harley, The Patriot Collector", Apollo, September, 1985, pp.198-203.
[130] Tim Mowl, John Wood, Bath, 1988, p.17.
[131] Margaret C. Jacob, The Radical Elightenment, London, 1981, p.79.
[132] Davila's Istoria delle guerre civili in Francia was twice translated into English by Charles Cotterel and William Aylesbury (1647) and Ellis Farnesworth (1758); Sarpi was even better known, his writings were widely read outside Italy. After his first appearance in an Italian version in London in 1619, his Istoria del Concilio Tridentino was quickly translated into English, French, German.
[133] Henry St. John Lord Viscount Bolingbroke, op. cit., 1752, pp.136-137.

conscience[134], while William Temple acknowledged Sarpi as one of "The great Wits among the moderns".[135] Samuel Johnson praised the moral qualities of Sarpi's work Historia del Concilio Tridentino as in it "the Reader finds Liberty without Licentiousness, Piety without Hypocrisy, Freedom of Speech without Neglect of Decency, Sevérity without Rigour, and extensive Learning without Ostentation."[136]and Lord Burlington subscribed to the French translation of Sarpi's work and kept a copy of it in his library.[137]

By the eighteenth century Sarpi's reputation for political cunning had so grown that spurious collections of political maxims circulated under his name. To those works should be added the writings of Giovanni Botero and Traiano Boccalini. Boccalini in his Ragguagli del Parnaso (Venice 1612) included an eloquent summary of all that seemed most admirable in the Republic of Venice. There were five translations of his work into English. Most of the English wits and scholars knew him and the essayists of the eighteenth century, Steele, Addison and Swift seem to have used him in "more ways than appears on the surface".[138] Steele wrote an essay in Spectator 514 in which he refers to him, Addison picked up Boccalini's analysis of contemporary history in The Present State of War (1707) while, according to Irving's analysis, Swift in his work The

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[134] William J. Bouwsma, Venice and the political education of Europe, in A Usable Past, Essays in European Cultural History, Univerisity of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles, California, 1990, pp. 266-291.
[135] William Temple, An Essay upon the Ancient and Modern learning, in Essays of Sir William Temple, selected by J.A. Nicklin, London, Blackie & Sons Ltd, 1909, pp. 199-251.
[136] John Lawrence Abbott, "Dr. Johnson and the making of The Life of Father Sarpi", Bulletin of the John Rylands Library XXXXVIII, 1966, pp. 255-267.
[137] Jacques Carre', "Lord Burlington's Subscriptions", paper presented at the Georgian Group Symposium, 3rd Earl of Burlington: The Man and his Politics, Symposium, London, February 24, 1995.
[138] William Henry Irving," Boccalini and Swift", in Eighteenth Century Studies, Vol. 7, 1973, pp. 143-159.

Tale of the Tub seems to use Boccalini's patterns and some of his ideas.[139] Moreover in England Sarpi had long been associated with a secular view of politics that resulted in doubts about the place of religion in a modern society. His work Historia del Concilio Tridentino (1619) shaped the English vision of Venice as a state strong enough to resist papal influence and thus akin to Protestants in opposing the Papacy.[140] This vision of Venice as the most secular Italian state was still alive in the eighteenth century when references to Sarpi continued to represent ideals of religious and political freedom. This is exemplified in the Society of Dilettanti toast " Esto praeclara, esto perpetua", the latter half of which was believed to be the dying words of the agnostic Paolo Sarpi.[141]

The Society of Dilettanti (founded in 1732) was one of the numerous eighteenth-century gentlemen's clubs. These clubs - as revealed by Shearer West - were not only places where people met for eating and drinking but were also radical institutions which encouraged unorthodoxy of a political and religious kind[142]. The members of them were in fact often labelled as anticlerical and atheists as appears from this passage:

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[139] Ibid.

[140] In the seventeenth century Venice an anti-pope movement led by Sarpi and supported by the English ambassador in Venice Henry Wotton had a very successful result and at that time there was a feeling that Venice and England because of their religious and political affinities would join against the extreme Catholic Counter-reformation supported by Jesuits and the Habsburg Empire. The first edition of Sarpi's Historia del Concilio Tridentino was published in England in 1619. See F. Yates, The Rosicrucian Enlightenment, London, 1972, p. 15.

[141] Shearer West, "Libertinism and Ideology of Male Friendship in the Portraits of the Society of Dilettanti", Eighteenth Century Life, May 1992, pp. 77-104.

[142] Hellfire Club, Kit-Kat, Calves-Head Club (The last one, of which John Toland was a member, used to celebrate Charles I's beheading by annual dinner in which his execution was reenacted.) See Chiara Giuntini, Pantheismo e Ideologia republicana 1670-1722, Bologna 1979, p. 172.

> a club who associated themselves this year and went to Stowe in Buckinghamshire, the seat of Lord Cobham, there to examine critically the scriptures at their leisure and put together all the contradictions and the impossibilities they fancied they should find in order to hurt Christianity.[143]

Shearer West demonstrates how a number of allusions to Venice in portraits of Dilettanti Society members seem to confirm the contemporary stereotype of Venice as a model republic and the predilection for republican ideals of the members of the society, many of whom were in opposition to Walpole government like Charles Sackville, the Duke of Bedford, Henry Viscount Cornbury, Earl of Sandwich[144]. The Society's founder, Francis Dashwood was an independent in politics but Horace Walpole described him as "one of the most inveterate"[145] of the opposition. Two close friends of his were the independents Earl of Stanhope and William second Baron Talbot who, like Bolingbroke demonstrated that the principles of "real Whig" were no longer the principle of those who called themselves Whigs and he believed in the "Old Whig" ideals:

> I wish the nominal distinction of Whig and Tory was abolished, as the words only, not the sense remain; a Ministerial Whig and a State Tory, when in power, are so exactly alike in their conduct, that my discernment is not sufficient to distinguish one from the

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[143] Manuscript of the Earl of Egmont, London, 1920, III, p. 318.
[144] Shearer West, op. cit.
[145] Correspondence, ed. W.S.Lewis, xvii. 249, (Walpole to Horace Mann), 24 Dec. 1741.

> other. The principle of a real Whig, in my sense of the term, are these, That the Government is an original compact between the governers and the governed, instituted for the good of the whole community; that in a limited monarchy, or more properly regal Commonwealth, the magesty is in the people, and tho' the person on the throne is superior to any individual, he is the servant of the nation; that the only title to the crown is the election of the people; that the laws are equally obligatory to the Prince and people; that as the constitution of England is formed of three legislative branches, the balance between each must be preserved, to prevent the distruction of the whole; that elections ought to be free, the elected independent; that a Parliamentary influence by places and pensions is inconsistent with the interest of the public; and that a Minister who endeavours to govern by corruption is guilty of the vilest attempt to subvert the Constitution; that a standing mercenery army, in time of peace is contrary to the laws, dangerous to the liberties, and oppressive to the subjects of Great Britain.[146]

These Societies (Dilettanti, Antiquaries, Kit-Kat Club) involved many intellectuals, architects, connoisseurs who at that time were engaged in

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[146] Letters of Thomas Rundle to Mrs Barbara Sandys, with introductory memoir by James Dallaway, (Talbot to Sir John Rundle, May 1734), Gloucester, 1789, pp. 238-44 quoted in Betty Kemp, Sir Francis Dashwood An Eighteenth Century Independent, New York, 1967, p. 18.

remodelling their own country house and garden,[147] thus suggesting once again the closed relation between "enlightened" liberal, political views and the architecture of landscape gardens. Yet praise of the Venetian Republic in the eighteenth century was already an anachronism, for Venice was perceived to be in decline, as this passage from Thomson's Liberty proves:

> There in the bosom fix'd of wondring seas
> Rais'd by my hand majestic Venice rose..
> Yet here too much confin'd, and bent beneath
> Aristocratic Power, my Spirit droopt.
> The ruling Senate, jealous and severe
> with the dread Council and the Tyrant Ten
> Cast o'er the whole indissoluble chains..[148].

The legacy of the Venetian Republic had been transferred to England which was therefore considered to be the legitimate follower of Venice, as Thomson in Liberty affirms.[149] For like Venice, England was a free nation with a secular and constitutional government in which tyranny was prevented by dividing and balancing powers. However Venice's present condition was to be understood as a warning by the English Patriot (concerned with the corrupt Walpole

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[147] Some of the oustanding figures who belonged to these Societies were: Francis Dashwood, the Earl of Carlisle, William Hamilton (Society of Dilettanti); Lord Burlington, Francis Dashwood, William Stuckley, Frances Drake, John Wood, Duke of Montangu (Society of Antiquaries); Lord Cobham, General Dormer, Lord Burlington, John Vanbrugh, Earl of Carlisle (Kit Kat Club).
[148] James Thomson, op. cit. 1750, Part III, ll. 104-110.
[149] Ibid., ll. 110 ff.

administration) who had to strive in order to prevent England from losing its liberty in the same way as Venice had done.

Therefore, it can be seen that one of the causes that urged English connoisseurs to look at Palladio could have been the permanence of the political myth of Venice, notwithstanding its present condition. In Palladian architecture they found the spirit of the ancient world fused with the idea of Venice as an expression of a liberal society and its imitation recalled the political spirit of its historical background. Furthermore, Renaissance Venice represented a model of Society with which eighteenth-century England could identify. In both societies the ruling class profit depended upon sea-borne trade as much as upon inherited landed wealth. The decline of trade and industry after the discovery of America , in fact, coincided with the installation of the "Serenissima" in the mainland and the growth of ruling class interests in real estate investments.

There is also another correspondence between Palladio's sensitivity for a simple landscape and the English landscape garden of the beginning of the eighteenth century . This sensitivity for the beauty of the landscape seems to have been innate in the Venetians as it is also apparent in the Venetian paintings of the sixteenth century. We must not forget that Palladio belonged to the same Venetian artistic environment which had given life to the famous Venetian school of painting where the landscape had always played an important role.

Palladio always consulted the "genius of the place" before planning a Villa or a garden. He never changed the landscape in order to obtain artificial effects but he adjusted his creations to the natural situation given. The gardens of the Veneto never played such a principal role as they did in the Roman Villas like

Villa d'Este in Tivoli or Villa Lante at Bagnaia.[150] They were of relatevely modest dimensions and they extended into the surrounding landscape which was admired for its beauty and variety as remarked Palladio in his notes on the Rotonda (quoted at page 109).

The garden was usually surrounded by a little wall or a fence which, according to Palladio should not prevent the view of the surrounding landscape. The Villa, he wrote "should be seen from far away" and from the Villa one "had to be able to look far away"[151] into the countryside. This peculiarity of Venetian gardens was already noticed by Henry Wotton in his work The Elements of Architecture (1624) which contributed to the diffusion of I Quattro Libri dell'Architettura. He was fascinated by the sensitivity for nature expressed in Venetian art and in gardens which he could appreciate during his long stay as ambassador in Venice. In his book, expressing his taste in gardens, he wrote: " First I must note a certain contrarietie between building and gardening: For as Fabriques should be regular so Gardens should be irregular or at least cast into a very wild Regularity."[152]

In addition, the Venetian Villa, unlike the Roman one was not just a place of pure escape from the urban town, but the centre of the main financial interests of the household who lived there. The business-minded Venetian patriciate managed - with the help of Palladio - to unite in their villas the ideal of a "locus

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[150] Margherita Azzi Visentini, Il giardino Veneto, Milano, 1988, pp.18-51.
[151] Andrea Palladio, I Quattro Libri dell'Architettura, Venezia, 1570, Vol. 2, Cap XII, p 1.
[152] Henry Wotton, The Elements of Architecture, London, 1624, pp. 109-114.

amoenus" and the reality of an agricultural centre.[153]. As previously discussed, this same utilitarian belief was shared by Pope, Addison and the main promoters of the English landscape garden.

We have seen how the architecture of the country house expressed the same enlightened liberal ideals of the garden itself, since the choice of Palladian architecture as a model was due to the fact that it represented the historical Venetian state and its liberal government. These enlightenment ideals, which the early landscape garden reflected by means of its iconography and design, were also propagated during the eighteenth century through a secret society called Freemasonry, whose belief in virtue, progress, civic duty, equality, contributed to the preparation of the soil for the late eighteenth-century democratic revolutions. The development of the landscape garden coincides with the diffusion of Freemasonry in England and Europe and many landlords were freemasons. It may be assumed that the eighteenth-century freemasons, who included the leading thinkers of the day, in the course of their endeavour at achieving a better society and world were also active in the field of art. In order to explain whether and how they could have exercised an influence on the architecture of the early landscape garden I shall first provide a brief outline of the origins and importance of Freemasonry.

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[153] Lionello Puppi, "The Villa garden of the Veneto" in The Italian Garden, Dumbarton Oaks, Washington D.C., 1972, pp. 83-114.

Part Three

The Contribution of Freemasonry to the Architecture of the English Landscape Garden

Freemasonry and its role in Eighteenth Century Society

Modern English Freemasonry is said to have originated at a meeting of the London lodges on St John's Day 1717 when it was decided to break all links with the previous operative masonry and to found a new philosophical Freemasonry. It is at this point that Freemasonry became a focus for intellectuals, politicians, the gentry, artists and architects. The exchange of ideas, aesthetic values and beliefs then became, due to the social standing of so many masons of the day, relevant to the architecture of the country house and garden in the eighteenth century.

Freemasonry, with its mystical overtones and origins dating back to the Middle Ages, held a fascination for the cognoscenti. Medieval stonemasons were called "freemasons" since they were not bound to a guild in any specific city but were forced to wander from place to place where churches were erected. It was through this that the movement acquired the character of an international society. A "journeyman", an apprentice seeking work and experience, only received food and lodging from fellow masons, if he knew secret signs and passwords.

The first masonic manuscripts , the "Old Charges"[1], explain the nature of the connections of the Craft with myth, Antiquity and a moral system of conduct.[2] Two common elements of these works on Masonic history are the reference to God as "Great Architect of the Universe" and the definition of the seven liberal arts (Grammar, Dialectic, Rhetoric, Arithmetic, Astronomy,

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[1] The Old Charges are preserved in at least 115 documents, of these some ninety exist in manuscript, ten have survived only in print, some fifteen are missing.

[2] A.G. Mackey, "Gli antichi manoscritti", Rivista Massonica, 68, 1977, pp .271-274.

Harmony and Geometry) with a particular stress upon Geometry which was considered to be the source of Knowledge, an art which had the potential to re-create the Divine in building, the lost Temple of Solomon itself.[3] The Temple of Solomon in Jerusalem was built by Hiram, who according to the legend knew some architectural secrets unknown to all others, but he was murdered by three apprentices. The initiation ceremony for the master mason grade commemorates this event.[4] For freemasons the Solomonic Temple was the only building on Earth which was erected as a result of God's direct intervention in accordance with His rules. Vitruvian ideas and Classical Architecture derived from this structure and the three orders (Corinthian, Doric, Ionic) of the Temple were brought to Greece and the West by Pythagoras. According to the legend after the flood Pythagoras found the two pillars on which the secrets of Geometry were inscribed and he, together with the great geometer Hermes Trismegistus told these secrets to the Greeks. These pillars, among others, were set up by Solomon to build his temple. The left-hand column was called Joachim and it was associated with establishment and legality, the right-hand column of the Temple was called Boaz and symbolized strength.[5]

Thus the idea of Geometry, the root of Masonry, as an exclusive and secret art and science handed down from the deities to an élite of people, originated from these legends, which in the eighteenth century became influential in shaping the characteristic masonic ideology. However, the Rosicrucian

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[3]Douglas Knoop, G.P Jones., The Genesis of Freemasonry, Manchester, 1949, pp. 62-72.
[4] Bernard Fay, La franc- maçonerie, Paris, 1935, pp. 182-185.
[5] Knoop, op. cit., pp.67-69.

movement also played an important role in bringing the Hermetic and occultist Renaissance tradition into Freemasonry.

The Rosicrucians were the followers of Christian Rosenkreutz, mythical character of two manifestos which were published in Kassel in 1614-1615, written by an anonymous author. The "Fama"and "Confessio"[6] told the story of Rosenkreutz, an enlightened man who travelled, mainly in the Orient where he learnt the magic of Kabbalah[7]. He founded the "bretheren of the Rosie Crosse" an association of learned men who should exchange their knowledge, heal the sick free of charge and proclaim that the time was at hand for a great advance in the knowledge of nature.[8]

This reformation of the world, however, was not only based on Evangelic Christianity with its emphasis on brotherly love but also on the

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[6] Their titles are: Allgemeine und general Reformation der gantzen weiten Welt. Beneben der Fama Fraternitatis dess löblichen Orders des Rosenkreutzes, an alle Gelehrte und Häupter Europas geschrieben e Fama Fraternitatis. Beneben Confession oder Bekantniss derselben Fraternitet, an alle Gelehrte und Häupter in Europa gescrieben. C. Francovich, Storia della massoneria in Italia dalle Origini alla Rivoluzione Francese, Firenze, 1975, p. 5.

[7] Kabbalah is a form of Jewish mysticism that developed in France and Spain in the 12th and 13th century. The word Kabbalah is Hebrew and means received tradition, its philosophy was supposed to have handed down orally from Moses himself. The Kabbalah conceived God as an infinite light, from which the whole of creation emanates through ten successive spheres called the Sephiroth. The Sephiroth themselves represent attrubutes of God: first supremacy, then wisdom, intelligence, love, power, compassion, eternity, majesty, foundation and glory. Though sin separated man from the Sephiroth their divine attributes remain active in him and he may, through them return to the source of light. This could be achieved by a system of meditation on the names of God and on the 22 letters of the Hebrew alphabet. Students of Kabbalah provoked the antagonism of the orthodox rabbis by their claim to possess hidden knowledge and by their emphasis on revelation and ecstasy. Norman Mackenzie, Secret Societies, London, 1967, pp.130-151.

[8] Ibid. pp. 67-70. Yates explains that the Rosicrucian manifestos were connected to Frederick 's V party and contained political and religous allusions to the time when Frederick, head of the union of German Protestant princes, tried to conquer Bohemia and take the place of the Catholic king Ferdinand of Habsburg. This would have been the universal reformation announced in the manifestos that the Bohemian wanted to realize with the help of the Palatinate Elector.

Cabbalist and Egyptian religion based on the cults of Isis and Osiris and taught in Hermetic treatises.[9]

The link between this esoteric Hermetic movement and the first system of lodges which emerged in Scotland around 1600 appears even more evident when we consider that the masons had long possessed a tradition, enshrined in the Old Charges, that Hermes had played a major part in preserving the knowledge of the mason's craft and transmitting it to mankind after the flood and that the key development in craft history, the teaching of masonry by Euclid, had taken place in Egypt. Rosicrucianism therefore influenced the early development of Freemasonry adding to the already mixed masonic lore (the myth of Egypt, Solomon's Temple, The Hermetic quest), the myth of the secret order of invisible brethren, dedicated to the search of ultimate truths and to the understanding of the mysterious universe.[10]

Moreover emerging Freemasonry was also influenced by the Renaissance concept of the architect.[11] In the fifteenth and sixteenth century, the architect came

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[9] The Hermetic books first printed in the late fifteenth century had an immense influence on Renaissance thinkers. They were supposed to contain the Egyptian mysteries which were believed to be a key to a complete knowledge of the Universe and of man. These books were attributed to Hermes, a legendary Egyptian prophet known as Trismegistus (Three times greatest Hermes) and identified with Thoth the Egyptian God of wisdom. These works were in fact written in the second and third centuries after Christ but up to 1614 were universally believed to be Egyptian works dating from many centuries before. They were mainly Greek in origin, and they reflected the prevailing Platonic philosophy of the period they were written. The emphasis was on Egyptian religion, ritual and astrology and the occult methods the Egyptians had used to summon and control the powers of the stars. The Universe described was a Neo-platonic one, filled with emanations of the divine and these Hermetic treatises had a powerful influence in shaping Renaissance Neo-platonism. Renaissance Humanists found many correspondences between the Kabbalah and the Hermetic writings, they saw in them the promise of a renewal of morality and a general reformation of mankind. Norman Mackenzie, op. cit., London, 1967, pp. 130-151.

[10] David Stevenson, The Origins of Freemasonry. Scotland's century 1590-1710, Cambridge, 1988, pp. 97-105.

[11] Knoop, op. cit., p. 63.

to occupy a remarkably exalted position in Renaissance thought. The Vitruvian concept of the architect and the techniques and styles of architecture detailed by Vitruvius were held not only to be relevant to the education of architects but to be essential elements in the education of a gentleman. In Vitruvius' main work The Ten Books of Architecture, which was first translated into English in the eighteenth century[12], the architect is seen as the master of all the arts central to human knowledge, including the mathematical arts thus becoming the Renaissance ideal, the Universal Man. The great Stuart architect Inigo Jones, who first made the English public acquainted with Palladian principles of proportion and design,[13] was thought to possess the Vitruvian pretensions of the architect. He was most probably a mason and certainly a Rosicrucian. In 1624, in a satire, Ben Jonson wrote about him :

> He has Nature in a pot! 'boue all the Chemists,
> Or bare-breeched brethern of the Rosie-Crosse!
> He is an Architect, an Inginer,
> A Souldier, a Physitian, a Philosopher,
> A general Mathematician.....[14]

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[12] Stevenson, op. cit., p. 105.
[13] A. Cerutti Fusco, op. cit., 1985, pp. 9-39.
[14] F. A. Yates, Theatre of the World, 88-89 In Anderson's Constitutions of Freemasonry, 1721, Inigo Jones is referred to as " Great Master Mason". See A.A. I. Campagnol, "Le costituzioni dei liberi muratori", Rivista massonica, 56, 1989, p. 187.

Thus, since the seventeenth century, the comprehensible world of the Vitruvian architect and mathematician and the occult and mystical world of the followers of Hermes Trismegistus and Christian Rosencreutz became two important elements of the freemasonic thought.

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It was only in 1717 when English Freemasonry was finally organized under the Grand Lodge of London, formed by the union of four London lodges,[15] that the symbolism of Freemasonry developed and the tools and methods used in the building trade were endowed with a precise moral significance. Utensils such as the square came to stand for righteousness, justice and virtue and the compass circumscribed moral behaviour and served as a measurement for harnessing the passions: " keep within the compass and you will be sure to avoid many dangers which others endure."[16] The level symbolized equality, the plumb rule and uprightness, the trowel for " spreading the cement of brotherly love".[17]The unhewn stone, or rough ashlar, that is part of the furniture of every Masonic lodge, is said to represent "man in his infant or primitive state, rough and unpolished", the polished stone or perfect ashlar represented man "in the decline of years, after a regular well spent life in acts of piety and virtue".[18]

The aristocratic and middle-class fraternity of the eighteenth century still talked of building "Solomon's Temple" which represented perfected man. It was the task of Freemasonry, of its "apprentices", "companions" and "masters" to reconstruct the original proportions of this "moral edifice" and the procedures of

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[15] These lodges took their names from London pubs (The Goose and Gridiron Ale-House in St. Paul's Churchyard; Crown Ale-House in Parker's Lane, Apple-Tree Tavern in Charles-Street, Covent Garden; Rummer and Grapes Tavern in Charles Row, Westminster). Knoop, op. cit, pp.159-163.

[16] Margot Guralnick, "The All-seeing eye", in Art and Antiques, Jan. 1988, p. 65.

[17] Ibid.

[18] Mackenzie, op. cit., p. 162.

building were often used to illustrate the process of spiritual development.[19] As Vidler maintains: "Freemasons designed themselves worlds apart from the world and confirmed their existence in architectural isolation. The type forms they adopted for their rituals of initiation and their social life were seen as the prototypes for perfectibility."[20] (Fig. 148).

The eighteenth-century masons retained the tradition of the old lodges and believed that their ancient respectability derived from their knowledge of geometry, a knowledge which could be traced back to Hermes and the ancient Egyptian mysteries.

If the strange rituals of Freemasonry seem out of place in the Age of Enlightenment this was because at the heart of the movement was not an Enlightenment but a Renaissance phenomenon. That the Age of Enlightenment was nonetheless the great age of Freemasonry is a seeming paradox indicating that for all the eighteenth century's appeal to reason, many still hankered after elements of mystery, ritual secrecy and the quest for hidden truth. It is therefore possible that masonic symbolism, its ritual ceremonies, the appeal of the ancient and mysterious, the mystical or even magical approach to nature's secrets, could all have contributed to the revaluation of the emotive and intuitive capacities of the individual and to the growth of irrationalist trends in eighteenth century society.

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[19] Ibid.

[20] Anthony Vidler,"The Architecture of the Lodges. Ritual form and Associational Life in the Late Enlightenment", Oppositions, 5 Summer 1976, p. 89.

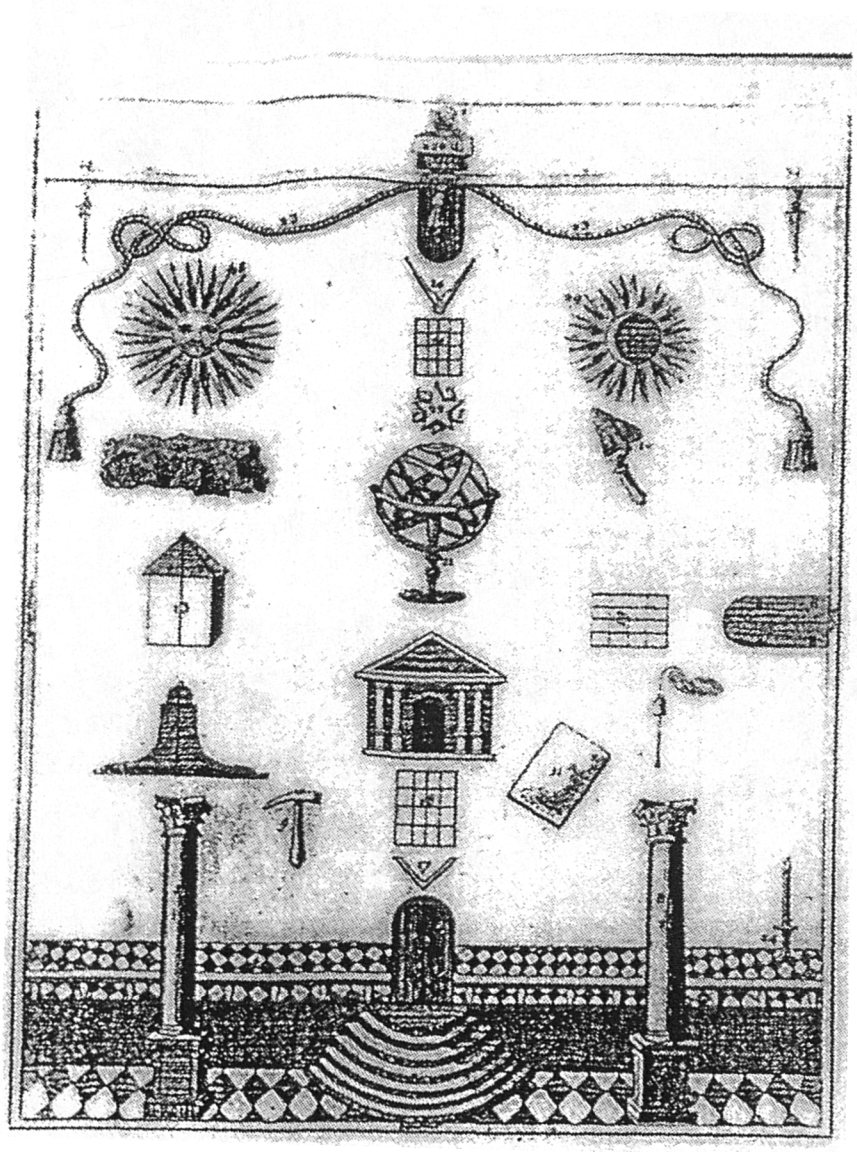

Fig. 148 True Plan of a Lodge for the Reception of an Apprendice, showing the Masonic emblems: Jachim and Boaz (3); the steps to the Temple(4); the Mosaic Pavement; (5) the western gate (6); the gate to the interior chambers (7); the southern gate (8); the eastern gate (9); the hammer (10); the trowel (11); the tracing board (12); the uncut stone (13); the cubic stone with pyramid (14); the compasses (15); the plumb (16); the level (17); the square (18, 19, 20); the western, southern and eastern lights (21); the globe (22); the flaming star (23); the houpe dentelée (24); the three lights (25); the seat of the Grand Master (26); the altar (27); the stool (28); the sun (29); the moon.

Initially, however, modern Freemasonry was fragile, subject to attack from the state and secret organizations. It was only with the mastership of Theophilus Desaguliers that Freemasonry achieved a role in society. Desaguliers was a clergyman of the Church of England, a member of the Royal Society, and later a chaplain to Frederick Prince of Wales.[21] An admirer of Newton's ideas. he helped to spread them through lectures and demonstrations. He was Christian, but his God was the High Architect of the world revealed in Newton's works. His intimacy with the royal family allowed him to assure the freemasonic society of the benevolence of the great, for he even succeeded in conferring the grade of Mason on Frederick, Prince of Wales. Not only aristocrats like the Duke of Richmond and the Duke of Montague joined the Craft, but also men of a variety of ranks and religious beliefs, tradesmen, gentlemen, doctors, merchants, Christians, heterodoxies, anticlericals. However according to a report made by an eighteenth century mason Bro. Lewis Edwards : "The class of man attracted was generally that of dilettante with a taste for polite letters, for mathematics, or for art, occasionally for foreign travel ".[22] Many reasons might have motivated these people to become masons. One was the simple social life and conviviality of the Lodge, another was the ideological motivation: enlightened men were attracted by a society where up to date ideas could be discussed. Then there was the appeal of the occult, secret, and the mysterious.[23] The Welsh poet Goronwy Owen expected

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[21]Fay, pp. 94-101.
[22] Knoop, op. cit., p.175.
[23] J.M. Roberts, The Mythology of Secret Societies, London, pp. 25-27.

to find in Freemasonry the hidden wisdom of the ancient druids.[24] William Stuckley, a famous eighteenth century antiquarian states that "curiosity led him to be initiated into the mysterys of Masonry, suspecting it to be the remains of the mysterys of the ancients".[25]But one of the strongest motives was the desire of amateur architects to further their architectural education .As a Pocket Companion for Free-Masons laid down:

> No man ought to attain to any Dignity in Masonry
> who has not at least a competent Knowledge in
> Geometry and Architecture.....[26]

Under the guidance of Desaguliers and Anderson, Masonic lodges became places where gentlemen could receive instruction in mathematics, listen to lectures on the new science and be part of an association that claimed to be descended from the earliest masonic architects who constructed the ancient temples, the medieval cathedrals and practised the "Royal Art".

As stated by the architect Edward Oakley, in a speech delivered in 1728 and published later that year in Benjamin Cole's engraved Books of the Ancient Constitutions of the Free and Accepted Masons:

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[24] The belief that Freemasons religious beliefs originated with the Druids was quite widespread. Thomas Paine, a mason himself, argued that Freemasonry was derived from " the religion of the ancient Druids, who like the magi of Persia and the priests of Helipolis in Egypt were priests of the sun". See Margaret C. Jacob, The Radical Enlightenment: Pantheists, Freemasons and Republicans, London, 1981.

[25] Knoop, p. 134.

[26] Knoop, p. 138.

> Their [freemasons'] Qualifications to be by studying Architecture, working in the Craft, or Building Trades, ingenious Sculptors, Painters, or well skill'd in Arithmetick or Geometry, or otherwise qualified by real merits, such as may redound to the Encouragement, Promotion, and Honour of sound Masonry. Those.... whose Genius is not adapted to Building, I hope will be industrious to improve in, or at least to love and encourage some Part of seven Liberal Sciences...it is highly necessary for the Improvement of the Members of a Lodge, that such Instruments and Books be provided, as be convenient and useful in the Exercise, and for the Advancement of this Divine Science of Masonry, and that proper Lectures be constantly read in such of the Sciences, as shall be thought to be most agreeable to the Society, and to the Honour and Instruction of the Craft.[27]

The prominent freemason Francis Drake[28] (author of Erboracum (1736), which he dedicated to Lord Burlington),[29] in a speech delivered to the lodge at York

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[27] Edward Oakely, "A Speech deliver'd to the Worshipful Society of Free and Accepted Masons, at a Lodge, held at the Carpenters Arms in Silver Street, Golden -Square, the 31st of December, 1728", By the Right Worshipful Edw. Oakley, Architect. M.M. late Provincial Senior Grand Warden in Carmarthen, South Wales", in Early Masonic Pamphlets, reprinted and edited by Douglas Knoop, G.P. Jones, and Douglas Hamer.

[28] Francis Drake belonged to the Society of Antiquaries together with other masons like Lord Burlington, Lord Montague, John Wood, Francis Dashwood, William Stuckley and Scipione Maffei.

[29] J. Lees-Milne, op. cit., p. 88. In this book Francis Drake praises Lord Burlington's buildings. Burlington subscribed to his work and kept a copy of it.

said that in the majority of the Lodges regular talks were given on the theory of Geometry and Architecture.[30]

The freemason and architect Batty Langley (Fig. 149) ran a building school in Mead's Court, Dean Street, where, together with his brother he gave lessons in drawing, geometry, mechanics, architecture. [31] He taught :

> Young Noblemen and Gentlemen to draw the Five Orders of Columns in Architecture, to design Geometrical Plans and Elevations for Temples, Hermitages, Caves, Grotto's, Cascades, Theatres and other Ornamental buildings of Delight, to lay out, Plant and improve Parks and Gardens,...[32]

His Ancient Masonry published, from 1729 to 1736, was a giant compilation of the works of other architects, for the use of builders and dedicated to the most distinguished freemason noblemen, including the Earl of Pembroke and the dilettante architect Andrew Fountain.[33] The explosion of architectural publishing in the second and third decade of the century coincided with the inception of the Grand Lodge. One of the main actors in the constitution of the Grand Lodge was

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[30] D. Möller, "Fünf fruhe Freimaurerreden, 1726-1737", in Quellenkundliche Arbeiten Quatuor Coronati Bayreuth, Heft 2, 1966, p. 26.
[31] Batty Langley wrote in 1728 New Principles of Gardening. His book was one of the first to be published on gardening which praised the irregularity of gardens.
[32] Eileen Harris, "Batty Langley: A Tutor to Freemasons (1696-1751)" in Burlington Magazine, 119, 1977, pp. 327-333.
[33] Ibid.

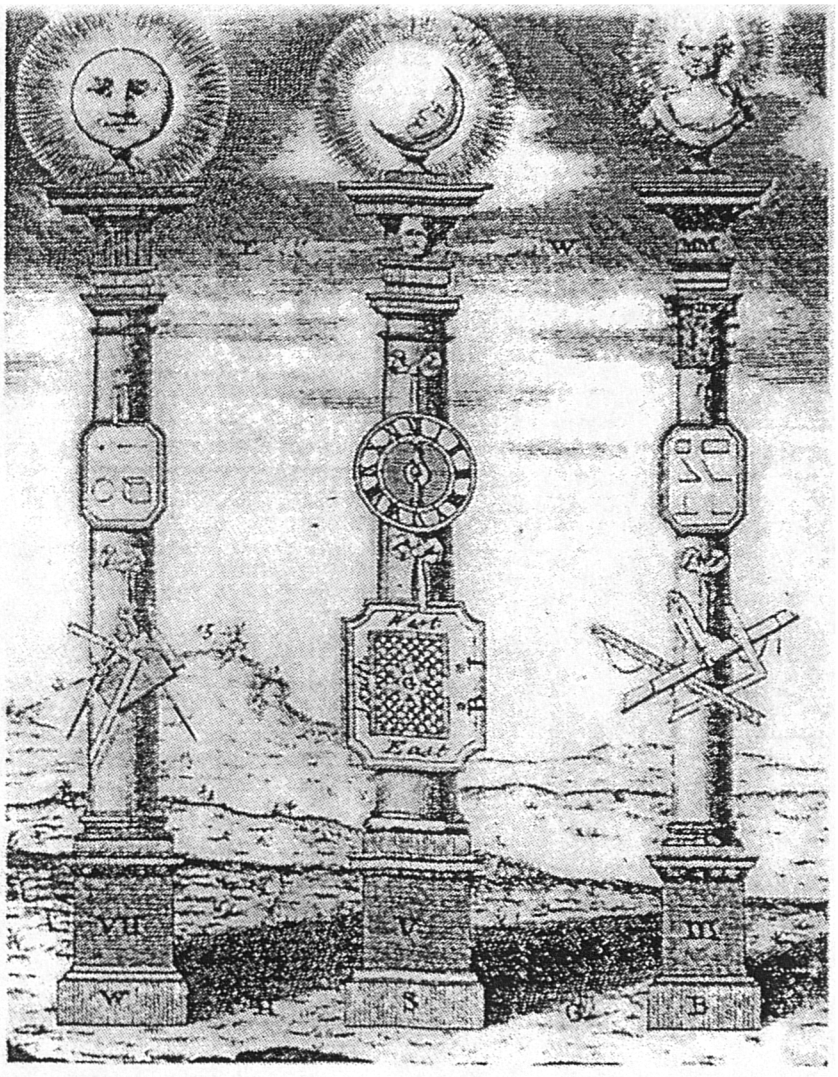

Fig. 149 Batty Langley, frontespice of *The Builder Jewel* (1741) with masonic symbols.
The three Vitruvian orders acquired a symbolism in freemasonry: Doric for Strength, Ionic for Wisdom and Corinthian for Beauty.

an architectural publisher John Senex, one of several personalities who combined Freemasonry with architectural and building literature in these two decades.[34]

In The Constitutions of the Freemasons (1723), J. Anderson identifies the history of speculative Freemasonry with an ideological interpretation of the history of Architecture. According to him the "Arts of Building" attained the highest degree of perfection under the emperor Augustus who was the patron of Vitruvius. Then after the dark period of the Middle Ages one began "...to discover the Confusion and Improperty of the Gothic Buildings, and in the Fifteenth and Sixtheenth Century the AUGUSTAN STYLE was raised from its rubbish in Italy...". Among all the architects of the Renaissance the importance of Palladio and Inigo Jones is stressed; "...above all the Great Palladio who has not been duly imitated in Italy though justly rivaled in England by our great Master-Mason Inigo Jones...".[35]

James Anderson is an important figure since his book The Constitutions of the Freemasons, Containing the History, Charges, Regulations of that Most Ancient and Right Worshipful Fraternity. For the use of the Lodges (1722), in which he reported the history of the society and the Charges and regulations of masonic conduct, remained the major source of masonic ideology throughout the world. Anderson referred to the "Old Charges" but he modernised them. As far as religion is concerned he wrote:

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[34] Joseph Ryckwert, The First Moderns, London, 1980, pp. 161-163.
[35] J. Anderson, The Constitutions of the Freemasons, London , 1723, p.37.

> A Mason is oblig'd, by his Tenure, to obey the moral Law; and if he rightly understands the Art, he will never be a stupid Atheist, nor an irreligious `Libertine. But though in ancient Times Masons were charg'd in every Country to be of the Religion of that Country or Nation, whatever it was, yet 'tis now thought more expedient only to oblige them to that Religion in which all Men agree, leaving their particular Opinions to themselves; that is, to be good Men and true, or Men of Honour and Honesty, by whatever Denominations or Persuasions they may be distinguish'd; whereby Masonry becomes the Center of Union, and the Means of conciliating true Friendship among Persons that must have remain'd at a perpetual Distance. [36]

Thus modern Freemasonry was not based on a revealed religion: freemasons as individuals could profess any creed. As freemasons they had to believe in the "Religion in which all Men agree" that is in a Universal Religion or the Religion of Nature. The essence of this Natural Religion was based upon the belief in a Supreme Principle Creator and in the understanding of the moral law. In all freemasonic documents we find the expression: "In the name of the almighty Creator of the world".

This opened the way for the adoption of heterodox ideas and the admission of members with different religious beliefs.[37] As increasing numbers of

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[36] Ibid., p. 48.
[37] Stevenson, op.cit., pp. 117-124.

men reacting against the bitter religious conflicts of the mid-century moved towards deism or pantheism, masonic lodges in which by tradition doctrinal religion had no part could not fail to seem attractive. John Toland, one of the leading figures of the radical thinkers of the Enlightenment is known to have belonged to a masonic society.[38]

Modern Freemasonry placed itself not only above religions but also governments. The charge which refers to politics reveals this attitude in a subtle, diplomatic way:

> A Mason is a peaceable Subject to the Civil Powers, wherever he resides or works, and is never to be concern'd in Plots and Conspirancies against the Peace and Welfare of the Nation....if a Brother should be a Rebel against the state, he is not to be countenanc'd in his Rebellion, however he may be pitied as unhappy Man; and, if convicted of no other Crime, though the loyal Brotherhood must and ought to disown his Rebellion, and give no Umbrage or Ground of political Jealousy to the Government for the time being; they cannot expel him from the Lodge, and his Relation to it remains indefeasible.[39]

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[38] M.C. Jacob, op.cit.,1981, p.118-119. Toland together with other freethinkers (Tindal, Anthony Collins) sought to revive a universal religion based upon the old naturalism and the new natural philosophies inherited from the scientific revolution. This religion had mystical elements and was more similar to ancient paganism than to any modern sect, but it was not anti-scientific. In his work Pantheisticon published in 1720 he describes a meeting of his "Socratic Brotherhood" and its ritualistic invocation of nature, in other words its pantheism. see Douglas Knoop and G.P. Jones, Freemasonry and the idea of Natural Religion, printed for private circulation, 1942.

[39] James Anderson, op. cit., pp. 48-49.

A freemason could therefore plot against the state without risking being expelled from the Craft. Freemasons wanted to avoid conflict with the government but at the same time did not support government policy. The lodge sought to make a better society through the virtue of each brother practised within a constitutional setting derived from British political tradition. The eighteenth-century British masons attempted to recreate the order, civility and harmony they imagined to have been embodied in the practices of the ancient constitutional government enshrined in the Revolution Settlement of 1689 (the same principles to which the Opposition party referred to in its propaganda). Freemasonry encouraged fraternity and equality as stated in the following passage:

> The whole world is but one great republic, of which every nation is a family and every particular person is a child. To revive and spread abroad those ancient maxims drawn from the nature of man, is one of the ends of our establishment. We wish to unite all men of an agreeable humour and enlightened understanding, not only by the love of the polite arts but still more by the great principles of virtue; and from such a union, the interest of the fraternity becomes that of all mankind.[40]

These utopian sentiments could justify demands for concrete reforms, for the translation of those private masonic ideals into public action: the abolition of privileges and corruption and the institution of true fraternity and equality for all

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[40] On the design of Masonry. Delivered in the Union Lodge, Exeter, n. 370, 1770, in Oliver, Golden Remains, Vol. 1, pp. 197-99.

men. However moderate and nonconspiratorial it may have been, its belief in civic duty, virtue and the progress of human betterment gradually turned against traditional privileges and established hierarchical authority and prepared the soil for the late eighteenth century democratic revolutions in Europe. Politicians feared that it could supply the focus for any potential revolt against them since its utopian ideals and its rules (the Charge on government and politics) allowed it without admitting it clearly. This was one reason why princes, kings and politicians of the eighteenth century wanted to participate in Freemasonry and be on good terms with it. Walpole is a typical example of somebody who became a mason in order to secure his position in the government. Being a freemason allowed him to keep check on the radical fringe of the Whig party [41] and on his opponents and to reinforce useful international political alliances.[42]

This introduces the problem of the position of British freemasons within the political context of the century governed by Walpole. As we have seen, eighteenth century masonic literature was in its essential optimism quite utopian and lodges were considered to be places where educated, meritorious people could build a perfect harmonious society. Emphasis was placed - as we have seen - on the liberal arts and sciences, particularly Geometry and Architecture which improve and civilize mankind.

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[41] M.C.Jacob, op.cit., 1981, p.162.

[42] His house Houghton Hall was the scene of one lodge meeting, the initiation in 1731 of Francis Duke of Lorraine. That initiation occurred precisely at a time when Walpole was seeking to reinforce Austrian-English relations, for the purpose of preventing a European war. His ambiguous behaviour towards this secret society is also proved by the fact that he financed a newspaper called The Freemason whose first number (13 November 1733) issued a satirical article where Freemasonry was ridiculed. See A. Mellor, Unsere Getrennten Bruder die Freimauer, Graz, 1964, pp. 116-117.

Therefore this secret society may have represented the ideal, virtuous, liberal society that the Country party was longing for. It provided an ethical system that emphasized fraternity, friendship and equality as well as the value of liberty. These values were much praised by the Opposition: Lord Cobham erected the Temple of Friendship at Stowe and here he used to meet his circle of friends, namely those on the side of the patriotic Opposition. This same building was later named the Temple of Liberty in order to express the main belief of those people who he met there. Freemasonry could also furnish a sufficiently broad religiosity to accomodate both the Christian and the heterodox or the anticlerical, and the Opposition was composed both by catholics like Pope and anticlericals like the radical Whigs. Moreover, the masonic emphasis on order, morality, virtue, fraternity and tolerance, naturally put freemasons on the side of the virtuous "country" ideals as opposed to the "court", which in Walpole's era stood for decadence and corruption.

But in fact friendship and political allegiances may have been equally important in bringing these individuals together and Freemasonry may have just provided the means to reinforce the previously existing links among the intellectual élite. The "Society of Freemasons" in fact, corresponded well to that coalition of "enlightened" virtuous men with different religious and political beliefs that the Opposition intended to create as shown in this passage written by Addison in 1711:

> For my own part, I could heartily wish that all honest men would enter into an association for the support of one another against the

> endeavours of those whom they ought to look upon as their common enemies whatsoever side they may belong to.....were there such an honest body of neutral forces... we should not any longer regard our fellow subjects as Whigs or Tories, but should make the man of merit our friend, and the villain our enemy.[43]

Nevertheless the constitutional order that permitted men to even imagine such perfect civil society was appropriated after 1689 by a landed and commercial oligarchy that identified itself with the court. Eighteenth century British freemasons were caught in a cultural and rhetorical dilemma. They identified with the ideals of the country, but their leadership lived, for the most part, like the court. As a result the lodges never posed a threat to the state. Yet Freemasonry was a potentially dangerous institution and could house a variety of radical thinkers or people with oppositional political perspectives. Some of these radical Whigs, [44]disillusioned with the outcome of the Revolution of 1688-9 at home, ventured across the channel to seek followers and they found them in the Netherlands.[45] These freemasons from the early eighteenth century onward brought their discontent with the post-revolutionary order in England to the Continent and exported into northern Europe an institution that could provide a social nexus for displaced idealists, political agents and subversive thinkers.[46]

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[43] J. Addison, Spectator, n. 125, 1711, II, p. 211.

[44] The most well known extreme Whigs were: John Toland, Matthew Tindal,Robert Clayton, Edward Clark, Sir Robert Molesworth, William Simpson., Anthony Collins, John Trenchard, Thomas Gordon.

[45] M. C. Jacob, op.cit., 1981, pp. 20-24.

[46] Shaftesbury journeyed frequently to the Netherlands and was a great friend of Benjamin Furly an English republican who maintained a salon in Rotterdam , kept a library of heretical books and

This republican coterie safely tucked away in the Hague was also well connected with the opposition Country party in England .[47]

established his home as meeting place between English republicans, Dutch dissenters, French refugees. According to Jacob, Shaftesbury thought of his associates in the Netherlands as the "Holland Whig Party" and endeavoured to distribute copies of Toland's edition of Harrington's work Oceana among them. Ibid., p. 93.

[47] Bolingbroke, a promoter of the Opposition ideals, had friends among the radicals in the Netherlands and endorsed the masonic society called "the Knight of Jubilation" which was founded in 1710 at the Hague (with the participation of Toland and Anthony Collins) and whose member where mainly pantheists and republicans. Ibid., pp. 93-94.

Freemasonry and Eighteenth-Century Architecture

What stands out from this account of Freemasonry is that the importance of the role played by this secret society within the context of the Enlightenment thought was an important one and something we cannot disregard when considering this historical period. It may therefore be significant that all these whom we have noted as influential in the creation of the landscape garden had strong connections with Freemasonry (see appendix). As we have seen this secret society corresponded to a utopian world where they could freely express their virtuous "country" ideals. Having established this, we need now to discuss whether we can detect in the architecture of their gardens any reference to freemasonic ideas. Since freemasons as "building workers" were especially interested in architecture it is reasonable to assume that they could have exercised considerable influence here. We have discussed above how the Vitruvian concept of the architect and the importance of architecture as a culmination of all other studies and therefore superior to them, reached England in the sixteenth century and at about the same time it became a fundamental concept of Freemasonry. Together with this Renaissance concept of the architect as the master of all the arts central to human knowledge, the other Vitruvian concept, followed by Renaissance architects like Alberti and Palladio, which became a basic ideal of Freemasonry since the seventeenth century was the dialectic between Architecture and Morality. The reconstruction of the Solomonic Temple in freemasonic thought, represented both the intention to imitate the rules of a "divine"

architecture and apply the natural laws of proportion and balance and the search for an individual and common purification. The Temple was the greatest achievement of Architecture in ancient society and so the preliminaries to a purification of society and a reconstruction of the last values of that ancient society were achievable by reconstructing the Temple. The Temple became a moral edifice as an example of what was noble and splendid and true in the first ages of the world.

In eighteenth century England, Shaftesbury - who most probably was a freemason[48](Fig. 150) - revived this concept of the moral function of art applying to the Neo-platonic concept of architecture as the first manifestation of the cosmic order, his Moral philosophy of the "beautiful balanced soul" thus asserting the correspondence between the harmony of the soul and the harmony of Architecture:

> The same Numbers, Harmony, and Proportion will have Place in Morals, in which are laid the just Foundations of an Art and Science superior to every other human Practice and comprehension..... the wise man becomes in truth the architect of

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[48] We know already of Shaftesbury probable connection with a lodge created in The Hague in 1710, whose members were mostly republicans and pantheists. Further evidence of his membership of the fraternity is the illustration on the first page of his work Characteristicks published in 1714: the emblems of all the arts based on mathematical and geometrical science are here united and the "Royal Art" of Freemasonry is also represented by a brotherly shake of hands over an altar composed of the three geometrical figures of square, circle and triangle.

his own life... by laying within himself the lasting and sure foundations of order, peace, and concord..."[49]

As a result, architecture becomes expression of the "Inner Beauty" that is the Morality and Virtue of his creator: " The beauty and effect of their art consists in representing moral truth (inward numbers) by means of harmonious symbols (outward numbers).."[50]

Shaftesbury 's dialectic between Architecture and Morality and his idea of the "wise man" who following moral behaviour becomes the "Architect of his own life" corresponds to the idea of the reconstruction of an internal moral Temple that each freemason with his behaviour endeavoured to reconstruct. The purpose of masonic initiation was to lead the probationer to knowledge through inner enlightenment. During the initiation he was transformed symbolically into Hiram, the legendary builder of the Temple. Thus it was not an external Temple that had to be built, but an internal invisible one. It was the life and soul of men that had to be the building material of the "Royal Art".

This temple was usually represented in the Renaissance with a circular shape similar to the Pantheon. In 1554 Jean de Tournes in the illustrations of the Bible of Condé (Fig. 151) represented the temple as a "rotunda" with a dome like Von Heemkerk in 1557. In Martin Von Heemkerk's engraving (Fig. 152) of the temple the two Pillars Joachim and Boaz are also represented. (These two pillars

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[49] Quotation from A.O. Adridge, "Shaftesbury and the Deist Manifesto", Transaction of the American Philosophical Society, Vol. 41, Philadelphia, 1951, p. 331.
[50] Ibid., p.339.

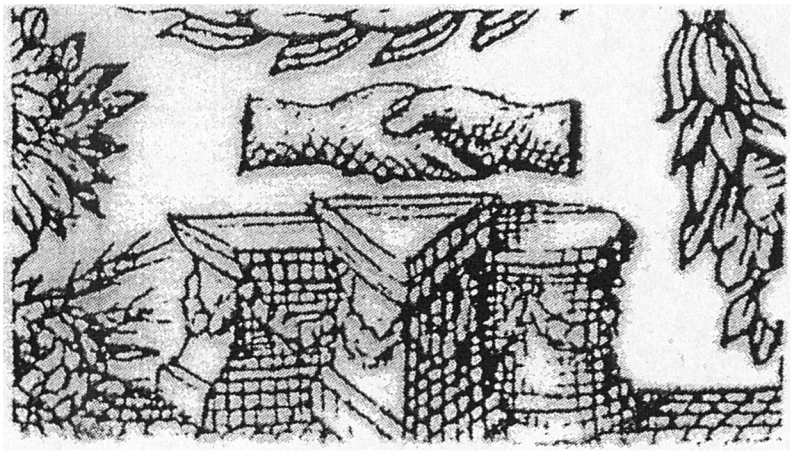

Fig. 150 Freemasonic emblem from Shaftesbury's *Characteristiks...* The Royal Art of Freemasonry is represented by a brotherly shake of hands over an altar composed of the three geomatrical figures of the square, circle and triangle.

Fig. 151 Anonymous, The Construction of the Temple of Solomon XVI c. Xilography from the Bible de Condé.

Fig. 152 Martin Van Heemskerk's version of the destruction of the Temple of Solomon in Jerusalem, in an engraving by Philip Galle. Note the domed form of the building.

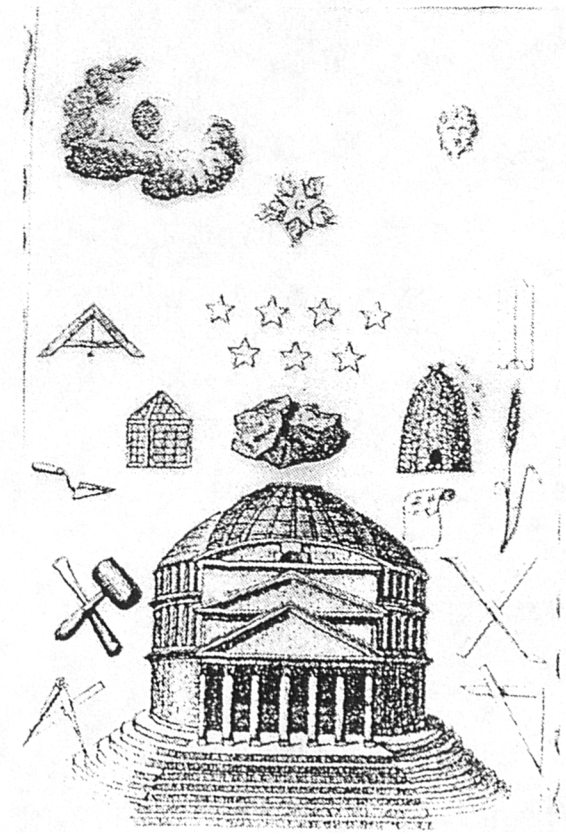

Fig. 153 Engraving from *Le Régulateur du Maçon* of 1801 showing a pantheon structure on a base of seven steps, with G in glazing star. Mason tools, a beehive, the seven stars, sun and moon, and pyramid on cube.

signified the entrance to the Temple-Lodge not only as a memory of the Temple of Jerusalem but also as reminder of the seeking, finding and keeping of lost wisdom). Thus Pantheon-like structures found their way into Masonic design as the exemplum of the Solomonic Temple with all its symbolic and allusory properties. (Fig. 153)

The circular building was also for Palladio the best representation of classical architecture and in his Quattro Libri referring to Bramante's round temple of S. Pietro Montorio in Rome, he writes:

> Poiche' la grandezza dell' Imperio Romano comincio' a declinare per le continue inondationi de Barbari; l'Architettura ... lasciata la sua premiera bellezza, et venusta' ando' sempre peggiorando fin che non essendo rimasta notitia alcuna delle belle proportioni et della ornata maniera de fabbricare, si ridusse a tal termine, che a peggior no poteva pervenire, Ma perche' essendo tutte le cose humane in perpetuo moto, aviene che hora salgano fin al sommo della loro perfettione e che hora scendano fin all'estremo della loro imperfettione. L'Architettura a tempi de' nostri padri, et avi, uscita di quelle tenebre, nelle quali era stata lungamente come sepolta, comincio' a lasciarsi rivedere nella luce del Mondo. Percioche' sotto il Pontificato di Giulio II Pontefice Massimo, Bramante huomo eccelllentissimo, et osservatore de gli Edifici Antichi fece bellissime Fabriche in Roma ..., conciosia adunque ... che Bramante sia stato il primo a metter in luce la buona e bella

> Architettura, che da gli Antichi fin a questo tempo era stata nascosta, m'e' paruto con ragione doversi dar luogo fra le antiche alle opere sue....[51]

We know that Palladio had been fascinated by this structure since he copied drawings of Roman Mausolea like the Mausoleum of Romulus and the Temple of Palestrina and realized his ideal villa (La Rotonda) as a centralized Temple-like form.[52] The eighteenth century conception of Palladio's Rotonda as the building which best represents the relationship between Palladio and the ancients can also be detected in the "Capriccio con la Rotonda" painted by Canaletto during his journey to England (1750-55) [53]. In this Capriccio, the Rotonda is painted with a structure similar to the Pantheon, thus stressing the link between Palladio and its classical sources. (Fig. 154)

It is no surprise then if the eighteenth century English connoisseurs chose the temple-like building- exemplified in the Rotonda - as the best representation of Palladian classical architecture, probably attributing to it (since they were freemasons) the masonic and allusory properties discussed above.

If we consider the influence of Palladio on the most important promoter of English Palladianism, Lord Burlington, we can realize how the Earl was

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[51] Andrea Palladio, I Quattro Libri dell'Architettura, Venezia, 1570, Chap, XVII, p. 64.
[52] Robert Tavernor ,Palladio and Palladianism, London, 1991, p. 77.
[53] W. G. Constable, Canaletto, Giovanni Antonio Canal 1697-1768, 2 Vols., Oxford 1962, II, p. 415.

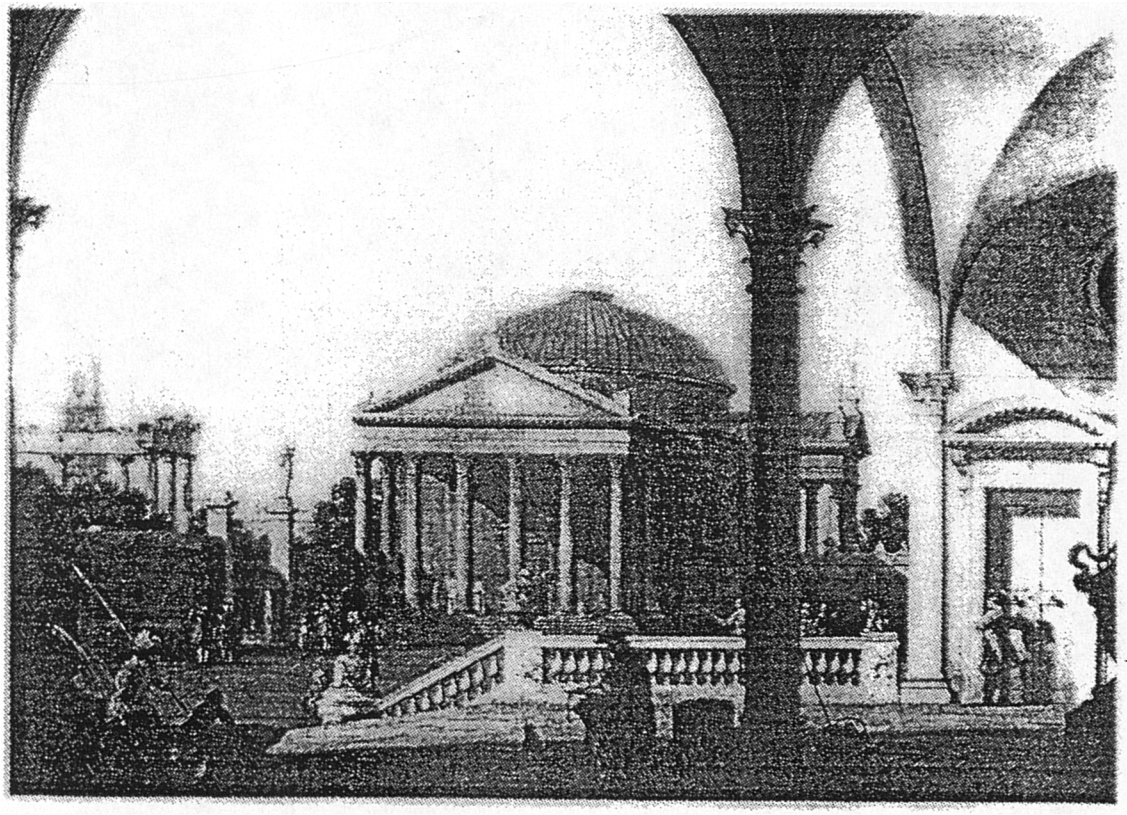

Fig. 154 Canaletto, Capriccio con Rotonda, oil on canvas, 81.5 x 115.5 cm. Private collection , Rome.

especially interested in reviving the classical purity of Palladio and his famous villa at Chiswick can be considered as an anticipation of the neo-classic style. If we compare Chiswick villa (1726-9) with one of its main sources Palladio's Villa Capra (La Rotonda 1570) we see how the Roman character prevails in the former. The octagonal dome hall and the thermal windows derive from the drawings of Roman baths which Burlington bought in Italy in 1730[54]. The ceiling of the Gallery apses and the octagonal dome are coffered somewhat along the lines of the Palladian illustration of the Temple of Venus in Rome[55] (Fig. 155, 156). At Chiswick these Roman ceiling features are unparalleled in grandeur and variety of forms in spite of the minuteness of the building scale. The dimensions of the house have always been a mystery to the point of wondering if Chiswick is more a garden with a villa or a villa with a garden. Lord Harvey exclaimed on first viewing it, " House! Do you call it a house? Why! It's too little to live in, and too longe to hang to ones watch."[56] The interpretation of a garden with a villa is

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[54] Burlington published in 1730 "Fabbriche Antiche", a first volume of a planned two volume set, covering the unpublished reconstructions of ancient buildings drawn by Palladio and bought by Burlington during his second Grand Tour. The first volume concentrating mainly on Roman Baths consists of twenty-six engraved plates. The second volume on arches, theatres and temples never appeared. See Dana Arnold, Belov'd by Ev'ry Muse, Essays to celebrate the tricentenary of the birth of Lord Burlington. The Georgian group, London, 1995, p. 515.

[55] Peter Murray," Il Palladianesimo Inglese", Bollettino C.I.S.A., Vol. XV, 1973, pp. 307-324.

[56] Quoted in Dana Arnold, op. cit., p. 32.

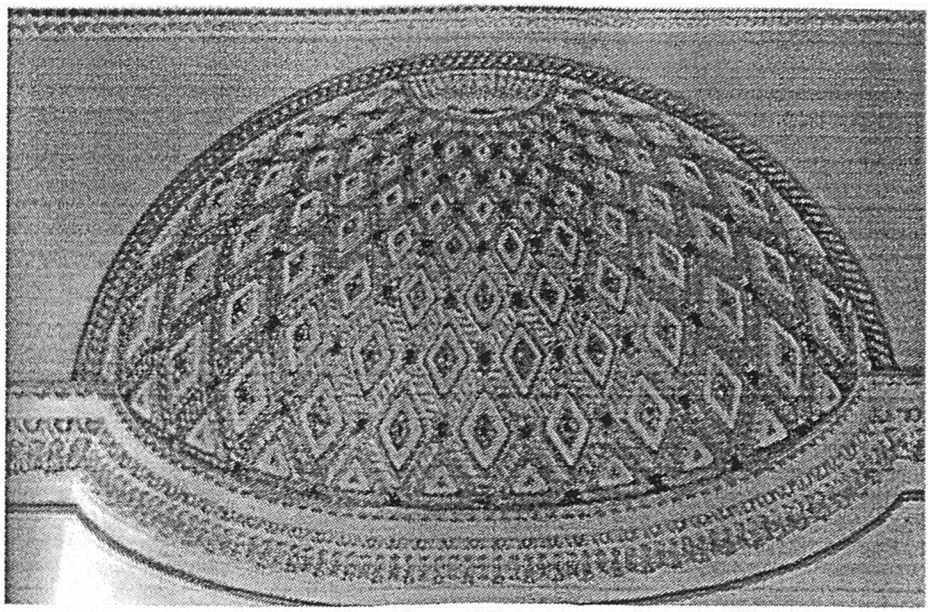

Fig. 155 The apse at the east end of the Gallery, Chiswick House (English Heritage).

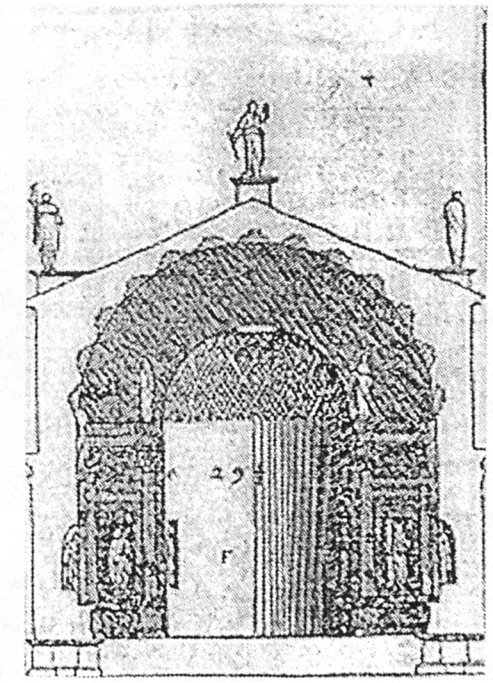

Fig. 156 Illustration by Andrea Palladio of the interior of the Temple of Venus in Rome, from the Quattro Libri, Book IV.

strengthened by the Jane Clarke's latest research on the villa's possible significance as a masonic temple.[57]

In the garden, the link with Freemasonry is also reinforced by the presence of two sphinxes on the gatepiers (Fig. 157) and a miniature Pantheon with an obelisk on a circular pond standing in front of it . It was generally believed that the prototypes of initiatory architecture were Egyptian (Fig. 158, 159), as Egypt was the home of Hermetic magic developed by the Egyptian priests who venerated Hermes Trismegistus, first Magus.[58] (See above). In the same way the presence of pyramids and pyramid-like forms in the early English landscape gardens like Cirencester, Castle Howard, Stowe, Rousham, Studley Royal, Castle Hill, at such an early stage - well before the later eighteenth century archaeological explorations of ancient civilisations - could be understood as an expression of masonic ideals of the garden's owner. Pope's preference for pyramids is testified by his letter (mentioned above p. 92) to Lord Bathurst where

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[57]Jane Clarke, "The Mysterious Mr. Buck", Apollo, 129, 1989, pp. 317-322. In a recent article: "Palladianism and the Divine Right of the Kings", (Apollo, April, 1992) Jane Clark argues that Lord Burlington could have belonged to a Jacobite lodge, thus proving the links between the revival of Palladianism and the Jacobite ideals. As a proof of this she discusses the masonic symbolism of Chiswick with reference to the higher degree of the Royal Arch and the so called " Scottish or Ancient Masonry". But the Scottish Masonry was simply a more elaborate form of masonic philosophizing, it meant all the higher grades which were added to the three authorized by English Freemasonry , it did not come from Scotland and was not all a Jacobite plot, on the contrary , as Jacob maintains it reflected a more radical "country" idealism. The schism between the Ancients and Moderns occurred in 1740 and was a revolt of lesser men against betters. Brothers began to criticize the social exclusivity of some lodges and to demand a more egalitarism. Their literature suggests more democratic tendencies in the English world, included a dedication to virtue and merit and more stress on the cult of Hermes and Hermetic philosophy with its pantheistic and cabalist associations. Moreover there is no evidence of attempts made to utilise Masonry in a Jacobite interest and there is no published masonic literature in English that is Jacobite. See J. Roberts, op. cit., pp. 94-100, M.C. J. Jacob, Living the Enlightenment, Freemasonry and Politics in Eighteenth Century Europe, New York, 1991, p. 54, 60-63; A. E. Waite, A New Encyclopedia of Freemasonry, London, MLMXXI, p. 403.

[58] In the scenography of the masonic play Magic Flute by Mozart (1794) the Egyptian architecture was amply used. See Jurgis Baltrustraits, Saggio sulla leggenda della forme, Paris, 1985, p. 42-58.

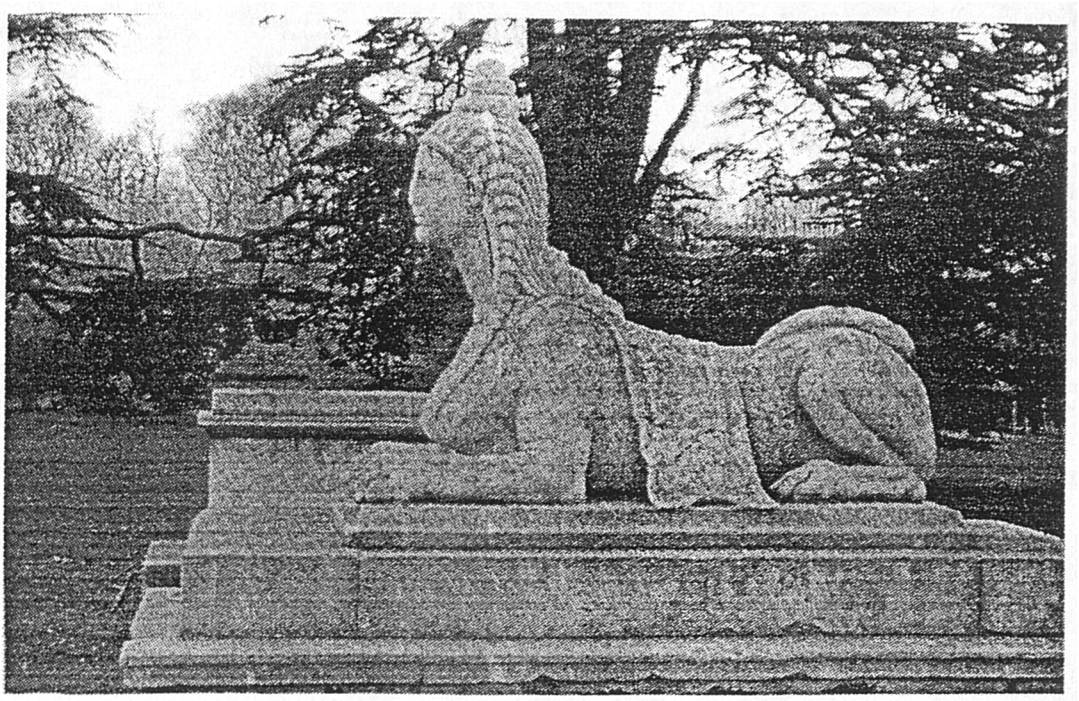

Fig. 157 Statue of sphinx at Chiswick (English Heritage)

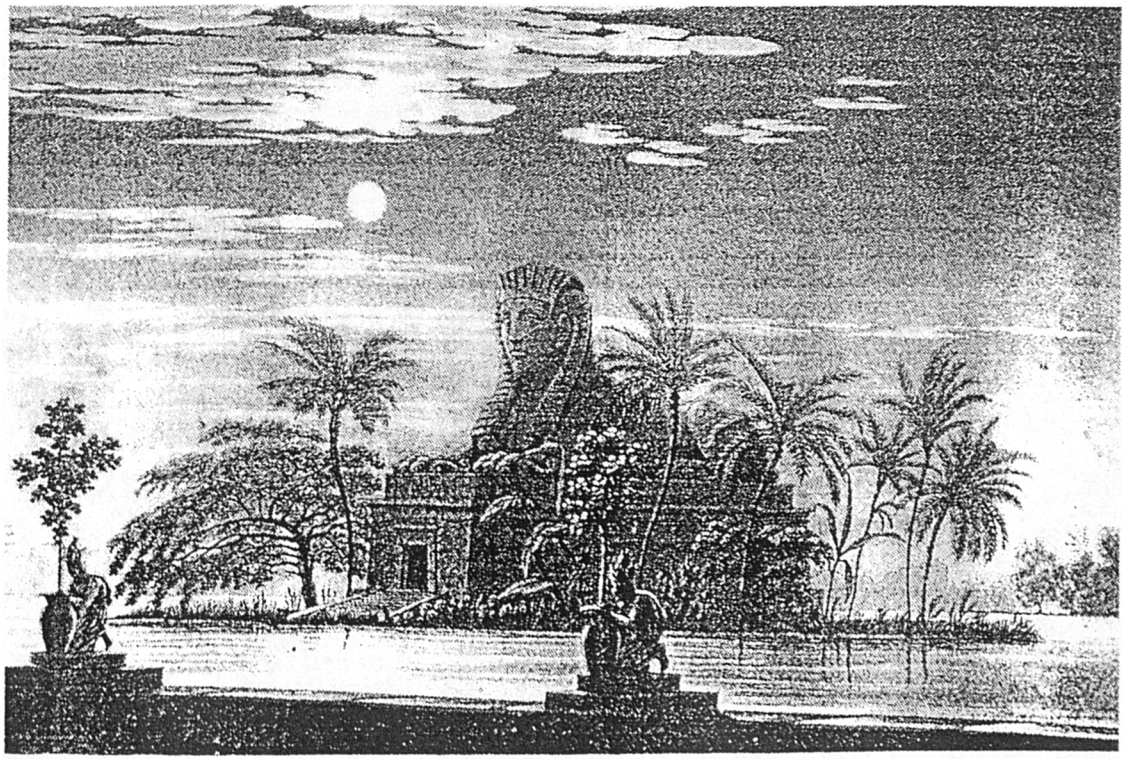

Fig. 158 Schinkel's design for act II, *Die Zauberflöte* (Mozart) in the 1816 Berlin production. Schinkel Museum SM XXII c/102. In this masonic play by Mozart, the Egyptian architecture was amply used.

Fig. 159 A design for a Masonic certificate for Lodges under the Grand Orient of France, from a ninenteenth-century printer's sample book. Note the pyramids, palm trees, Masonic tools, Egyptian architecture. Note the rock-work cavern on the left, probably the beginning of an initiation route.

he advised his friend to consider building a pyramid in his park. We have previously discussed the pyramids designed by Hawksmoor to decorate the landscape of Castle Howard (Fig. 78, 79). In that same garden Lord Carlisle engaged Vanbrugh to design together with the gateway surmounted by a heavy pyramid, an obelisk (1714) on the approach road to Castle Howard. The fact that the obelisk was intended as a reference to Egypt, though it was amply favoured by the Romans as funerary architecture is clear by the following letter written in 1742 by Pope (who erected an obelisk in his own garden), where he advised his friend Martha Blount to build an obelisk in her garden at Sherbourne Park in Dorset in honour to the family of Lord Digby:

> I would sett up at the entrance of'em an Obelisk, with an inscription of the Fact: which would be a Monument erected to the very ruins; as the adorning & beautifying them in the manner I have been imagining, would not be unlike the Egyptian Finery of bestowing Ornament and curiosity on dead bodies.[59]

The obelisks in freemasonic symbolism were associated with the sun. They were both phallic, and gnomons and were symbols of continuity, power, regeneration and stability.

At Stourhead this symbolism of the obelisk was reinforced by a copper sun or"mythra" which surmounted it. The proof of its existence is given by a

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[59] A. Pope, Correspondence of Alexander Pope, Vol. 2, ed. G. Sherburn, Oxford, 1956, p. 239.

poem published in the December issue (1748) of The Gentleman's Magazine and by a report given in 1755 by James Hanway which described the obelisk as one hundred feet tall and situated on the highest point at the end of the terrace called Fir Walk.[60]

An obelisk, situated at the centre of an octagonal pool (Fig. 160), was also present at Stowe (dismantled in 1759) together with a pyramid sixty feet high (mentioned previously, fig. 27) which was probably the last building conceived for Stowe by Vanbrugh. It was already in place in 1724 when Viscount Perceval visited Stowe : "The Pyramid at the End of one of the walks is a copy in miniature of the most famous one in Egypt, and the only thing of its kind I think in England."[61]

William Kent, was probably aware of the meanings associated with the obelisk and the pyramidal form, since, not only did he design an obelisk for Thomas Coke's country estate at Holkham Hall, he also placed a stepped pyramid over the central block of his Temple of British Worthies at Stowe (Fig. 34). Within the oval niche of the aforementioned pyramid was set a bust of Mercury. Mercury was an important figure for freemasons as his Greek name was Hermes, the messenger of the Gods, the herald and keeper of mysteries and also the god of trial and initiation. He was called Trismegistus, the Thrice-Greatest

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[60] The Gentleman's Magazine, 18, December 1748, p. 568; J. Hanway, A Journal of Eight Days Journey, 2nd ed., London, 1757, I, pp. 137-38.

[61] G.B.Clarke ed., Descriptions of Lord Cobham's Gardens of Stowe, 1700-1750, Buckinghamshire Record Society, n. 26 (n.p., 1990), 16.

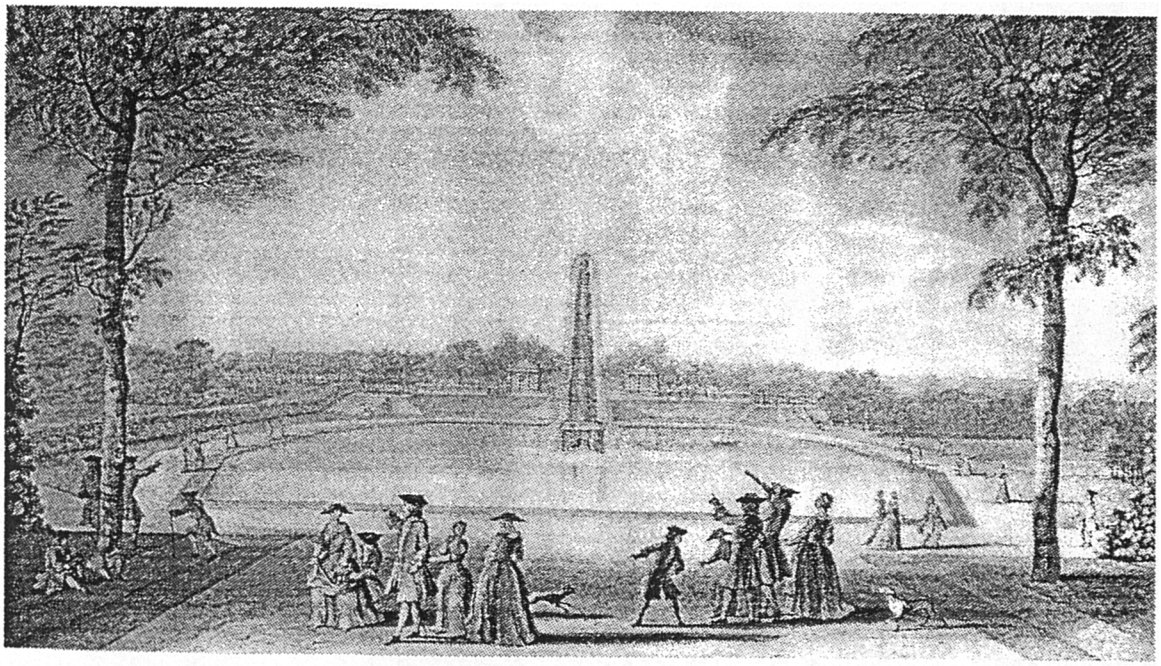

Fig. 160 Stowe, Rigaud, View of the Great Bason, from the Entrance of the Great Walk to the House. Ink and Wash. 1733-34 MMA, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1942.

Hermes who was identified with Euclid (and hence with Pythagoras) and after whom Hermetic (or Egyptian) wisdom was named.[62]

At Rousham, according to MacClary's letter (1750), a pyramid building was also erected in the garden in 1738/39, while in the Praeneste the presence of a statue of Mercury/Hermes is mentioned. This mythological figure is also present at Chiswick House. As explained by Jane Clarke the ceiling painting in the Red Velvet Room portrays the resurrection of the arts by Hermes/Mercury. The masonic symbols of mallet, compass and square are all present. The painting is dominated by Hermes accompanied by two putti, one holding a jewel and one a cornucopia, another masonic symbol. The central panel of the ceiling is surrounded by other signs of the zodiac with their Gods. The study of the stars was an important aspect of Hermetic philosophy and key to secret knowledge.[63] The signs of the Zodiac adorn the ceiling of many a lodge and this supports Clarke's thesis of the use of Chiswick House as a masonic temple. What may also be interesting is the fact that Burlington based the Assembly Room at York on Palladio's Egyptian Hall and the lodge at Edinburgh and Dublin, to mention but two, are Egyptian Halls.

Furthermore, as mentioned above, Burlington's miniature Pantheon and its obelisk in circular space, also bear a masonic message (Fig. 161). Coustos explained the masonic symbol of the point within a circle: "the Compass being placed with one of its points on the ground cannot fail in the correctness of the circle which the other point describes, thus also the Master should circumscribe

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[62] A. E.Waite, op. cit., p. 11.
[63] Jones Bernard E. , Freemasons Book of the Royal Arch, London, 1957, p. 229.

his actions so they be without fault, and thus complying set a good example to others".[64] An engraving of Claremont, recently discussed by John Harris and which he dated to the period of Newcastle's patronage of Kent, shows a miniature domed pantheon-like temple (unexecuted) with a four column portico on the top of the garden amphitheatre. Similarly to Chiswick, in the centre of the circular pond in front of the Pantheon, was set an obelisk. (Fig. 162) The same pantheon-like building with an obelisk in front of it is shown on the first page of a Masonic song-book published in Berlin. (Fig. 163) and appeared in a text vignette in Shaftesbury's Characteristik of Men.. (1714) where it was shown as "Templus felicitatis" (Fig. 164).

This tradition appears to have been continued later in the century when neo-classical architects took on what had been established in England before 1750. James Curl has demonstrated that the neo-classicist fascination for Pantheon-like forms combined with pyramids, obelisks and blank walls derived from Piranesi's visions of real buildings of Antiquity, had strong links with Freemasonry.[65] Essentially his argument is that the key figures of the neo-classicism were freemasons and they were inspired by masonic symbolism. The same argument could hold true for the revival of Palladianism since this movement was exported to the Continent and to America, through the Lodges, as a first stage of neo-classicism: Jefferson, Algarotti, Fredrich II, Lodoli's circle, Laugier, Ledoux, Boullée and some of the revolution architects were famous

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[64] The Trial of John Coustos by the Inquisition, Ars quatuor coronatorum, 65, 1954, p. 114.
[65] James Stevens Curl, The Art and Architecture of Freemasonry, London, 1991.

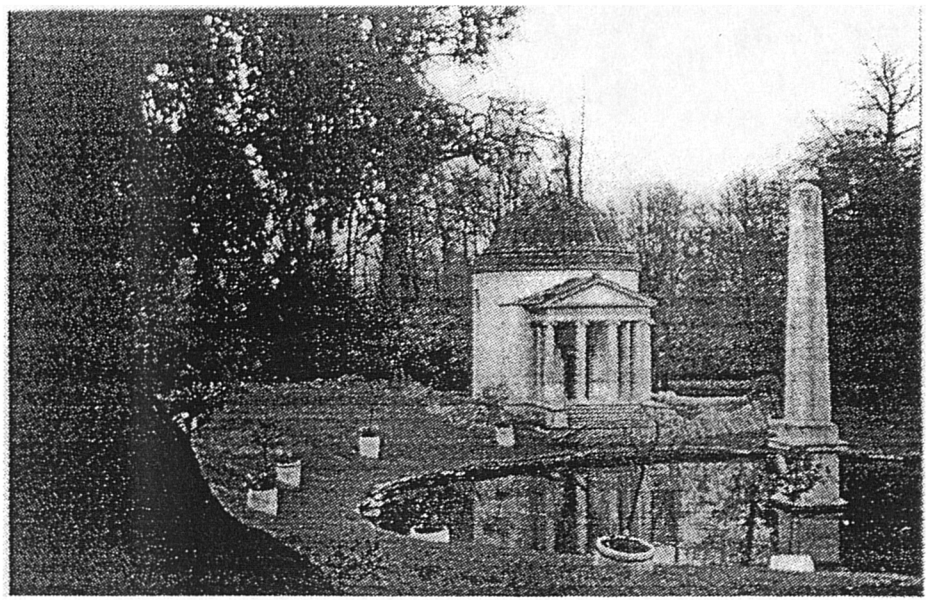

Fig. 161 Obelisk and Ionic Temple in the Orange Tree Garden, Chiswick (English Heritage).

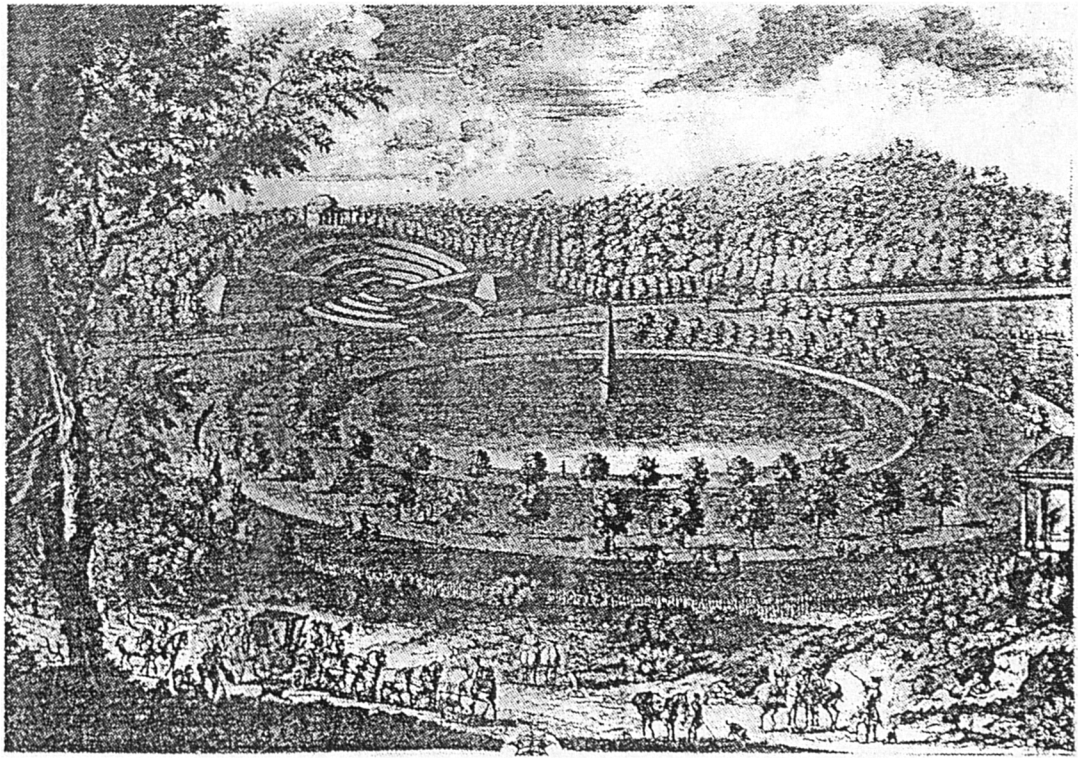

Fig. 162 The amphitheatre and circular pond at Claremont by an unknown English artist and engraver. Engraving. King's Maps, British Library.

Fig. 163 Masonic song-book, Berlin 1798, first page.

Fig. 164 Emblem of the Templum Felicitatis from Shaftesbury's *Characteristics...*

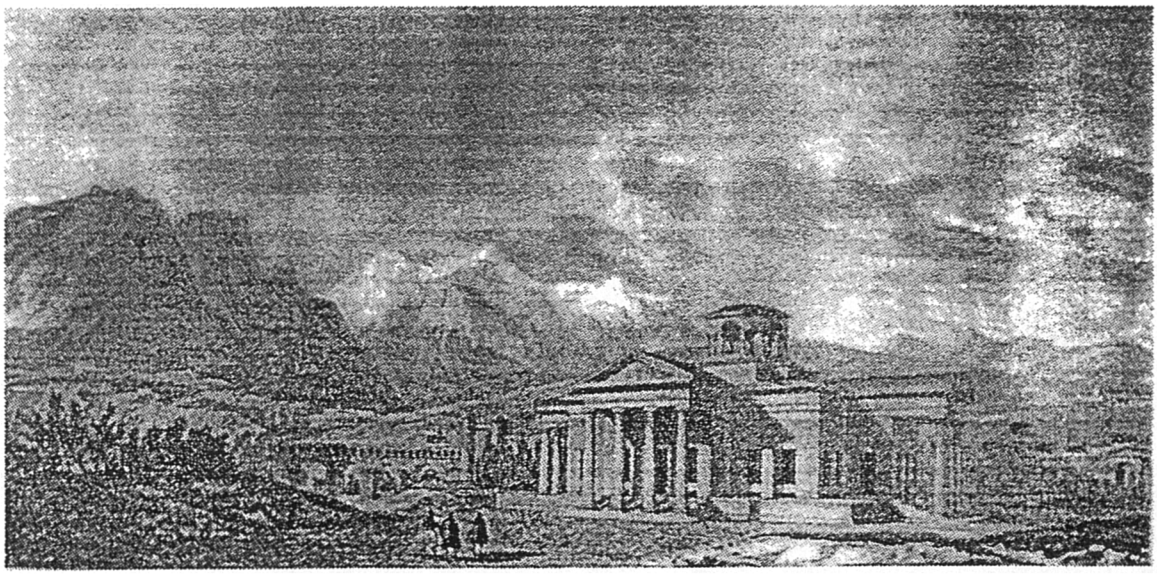

Fig. 165 C.N. Ledoux, Vue perspective du Palais Episcopal de Sisteron in Architecture de Ledoux, Paris 1847, Vol. I, pl. 194. One of the several buildings which Ledoux derived from the Rotonda.

promoters of a classical Neo-Palladianism and prominent freemasons.[66] The Rotonda as villa temple, for example, became the model of neo-classical French architects like the freemason Ledoux.[67] (Fig. 165)

It may be asserted therefore that the eighteenth century enlightened English élite looked at Palladio in search of its classicism because this reflected the order and simplicity of the ancient civilisations who derived their architectural rules from the Temple of Solomon. This is evident from the following masonic poem:

> But Order and Simplicity alone,
> Which in fair nature's works so fair are shown,
> Which now the schemes of Architecture fill,
> Can claim just wonder, or display just skill,
> By these old Greece and Rome their schemes did raise,
> And show the patterns of succeeding days,
> By these their gen'rous modern sons are known,
> A Kent, a Flitcroft, and a Burlington.[68]

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[66] C. Mignot, "Lettura del Palladio nel XVII secolo: una riservata ammirazione" in Palladio e la sua eredita' nel mondo, Milano, 1980, pp. 207-213; M. Gallet and M. Mosser, "Il neo-classicismo o il vero Palladio riscoperto", in ibid., pp.195-206; W. H. Adams, The eye of Thomas Jefferson, Charlottesville, 1981, pp. 234-304.

[67] C.N. Ledoux, E.L. Boulleé, J.J. Lequeu and many architects working in Paris in the 1770 and 1780 were known freemasons and in their architectural design they utilised a vast vocabulary of Masonic or quasi-masonic emblems. See Werner Oechslin, "Premesse all'Architettura Rivoluzionaria", Controspazio, 1970, Gen/feb, pp.2-13; Anthony Vidler, The Writing of the Walls, Princeton 1987, and Claude-Nicolas Ledoux, Architecture and Social Reform at the end of the Ancien Regime, Cambridge, Mass., MIT Press, 1990.

[68] Anon., Masonry : A Poem.To which are added several Songs, Edinburgh, 1739.

After all this we can suggest that the presence in the landscape garden of round temples (Ionic Rotunda at Hagley Hall, Doric Temple at Rousham, Temple of Ancient Virtue and Temple of Friendship at Stowe, Mausoleum at Castle Howard) rotunda like buildings (Temple of Four Winds at Castle Howard) and Pantheon-like building (Stourhead, Chiswick) could - not only refer to Gaspard or Poussin paintings - but also to the round form of the Solomonic Temple, the prime model from which Vitruvian Classical Architecture derived. The creators of those gardens, most of whom were freemasons, certainly knew that this kind of building had potent symbolic visual properties. We know that Ralph Allen's architect John Wood when planning the park chapel for the garden at Prior Park, made an explicit reference to the Solomonic Temple as he wrote he would build the chapel : " in the manner in which King Solomon finished the inside of this Temple of Jerusalem."[69] This masonic interpretation would add to the richness of the referents, since the round temple already existed in antiquity, was taken up by Bramante, and in its plan and section represented a model of the perfection of the universe which is probably another reason why freemasons, who were concerned with the perfectibility of the people, took it as the ultimate model of architecture.

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[69] John Wood, An Essay towards a Description of Bath, 1749, p. 433.

Intellectual and Artistic Exchange between Venice and England in the Eighteenth Century and the Role of Freemasonry

In the second part of this work I have demonstrated how the myth of the Venetian Renaissance government continued to survive among the eighteenth century English intellectual élite. The connection with this city was strengthened in this century through Freemasonry. An élite of enlightened cosmopolitan intellectuals with strong links with Freemasonry (Maffei,Poleni, Algarotti) was criticizing the government of Venice which at that time was in a state of decadence, in the same way as the Opposition members were criticizing the contemporary English government. They were trying to spread English enlightenment ideals in Veneto and shared views about politics and architecture with the English connoisseurs. This élite of enlightened cosmopolitan intellectuals was looking back to the Sarpian lesson to find support for their ideals (in the eighteenth century Paolo Sarpi's works were reprinted in Venice) in the same way as the English intellectuals did. Once again it was Venice among all the other Italian cities which had the closest contacts with English society. This allowed a continuous exchange of political and artistic ideas between England and Venice. As we will see below, in both societies the Palladian revival acquired the same semantic value and Freemasonry played an important role in the diffusion of this style.

Around 1720 Venice and Vicenza were in the middle of a Palladian revival mainly promoted by the aforementioned enlightened cosmopolitan circle

with strong links with Freemasonry. Within this circle consul Smith, merchant and collector of objets d'art, had an important role as an art dealer between England, the cradle of speculative Freemasonry, and Veneto, seat of the Palladian tradition.

Joseph Smith, the English consul in Venice who had assumed office in the first decade of the eighteenth century was the major link between the English connoisseurs and the Venetian avant-garde élite of the eighteenth century. From the beginning he dealt in art and supplied and catered for the needs of young English noblemen on the Grand Tour who were buying objets d'art with the special intention of adding to the collections which were an essential part of every great household. One of his first clients was the freemason Thomas Coke, owner of Holkham Hall and from whose Account book we discover that Smith was also in touch with William Kent in Rome in 1717 and, as we learn from a letter of 1750 from Giovanni Poleni to Lord Burlington acknowledging a gift of Palladio's Fabbriche Antiche, with the latter, for the gift had been received through Smith.[70] The aforementioned marchese Giovanni Poleni (1683-1761) was another member of this enlightened circle. He was Professor of Astronomy, Mathematics and Experimental Philosophy at Padua University and he combined scientific studies with an interest for architectural and archaeological research and collecting rare volumes. He had been a member of the Royal Society since 1713 and maintained that there was a close relation between science and architecture, in defining which

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[70] Frances Vivian, "Joseph Smith, Antonio Visentini e il movimento neo-classico", Bollettino C.I.S.A., V, 1963, pp.340-358; the same author wrote Il Console Smith Mercante Collezionista, Venezia, 1971.

the study of classical architecture was important. He published an anthological study, Exercitationes Vitruvianae (Padua 1739-41).[71]Together with Vitruvius, Poleni revived Palladio and urged that architects copy him:

> Dal Palladio furono fatte le Facciate de' Tempi di S. Giorgio, di S, Francesco; delle quali idee simili sono; or, se quel grande architetto imito' se medesimo, perche' mai non potra' esser egli da noi imitato?[72].

Poleni's close friend Scipione Maffei, was another noted intellectual with whom he shared scientific and architectural views. Maffei himself was one of the first to become a freemason in the Veneto, belonging to the lodge in Verona probably founded by Thomas Howard, duke of Norfolk and Grand Master of the London Grand Lodge, who was in the Veneto in 1729.[73] Montesquieu, one of the first founders of Freemasonry in France, was a guest at Maffei's house in 1728-9 and he wrote in his diary 29 July 1729 : " le marquis Maffei est l'intelligence de l'académie de Vérone et il est chef de secte. [74]"

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[71] Liliana Guadagnino Lenci, "Per Giovanni Poleni, Note e appunti per una revisione critica", Atti dell'Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti, Anno Acc. 1975-76, Tomo CXXXIV, Venezia, pp. 544-567.

[72] Ibid.

[73] C. Francovich, Storia della Massoneria in Italia dalle origini alla rivoluzione francese, Firenze, 1974, p. 41.

[74] C.I. Montesquieu, Voyages en Europe 1728-1732, Ouvres Complétes, Paris, 1964, p. 305, quoted in Eros Maria Luzzitelli, Ippolito Pindemonte e la fratellanza con Aurelio De Giorgi Bertola: Tra Scipione Maffei e Michele Enrico Gramoso: una nuova questione sulle origini della massoneria in Italia con appendice di carteggi e documenti, Verona, 1987, p. 33.

Maffei was in London in 1736, becoming a member of The Royal Society and the Society of Antiquaries. He knew the freemason Theophilus Desagulier, and he was a guest of the Duke Montagu, himself one of the first members of the Grand Lodge in 1717.[75] It is not surprising then that Scipione Maffei visited Lord Burlington at Chiswick and said about him :

> Chiunque pone il piede dentro il cortile del suo Palagio in Londra, ed esamina in ogni parte la sua villa di Chiswick, fatta da lui di pianta, e fornita e ornata con l'ultimo gusto, e con uguale sontuosita', crede di veder opera d'alcun de' piu', celebri maestri e Di quel stil, ch' a buon tempi fioria, questo signore assai piu' che d'ogni altro architetto del Mondo innamorato e' del Palladio ne' altra idea siegue....[76]

Maffei, like Poleni, Algarotti and other exponents of the Venetian enlightenment was also critical of the decadent government of Venice and he proposed the reformation of the Republic in his work Suggerimento per la perpetua preservazione della Repubblica Veneta atteso il presente Stato d'Italia e d'Europa (which was published for the first time only in 1797).[77] It is rather significant that these intellectuals who drove Enlightenment thinking in Venice were extremely

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[75] A. Spagnolo, Scipione Maffei e il suo viaggio all'estero, 1732-1736 in Atti e memorie dell'Accademia di Agricoltura, Scienze Lettere, Arti e Commercio di Verona IV, LXXVIII 1902-3, pp. 311-344.

[76] Scipione Maffei, Osservazioni letterarie, Venezia 1738, Vol 3, p. 206

[77] A. Scolari, "Il consiglio politico di Scipione Maffei, contributo alla storia delle dottrine politiche in Italia nel secolo XVIII", in Atti e Memorie dell'Accademia d'Agricoltura, Scienze, Lettere di Verona, V, IX, 1931, pp. 37-87.

critical of their present government like those who were at the forefront of developments in gardening in England. What seems to parallel Venice and England is that in both societies the proposals of political reformation were to be made manifest in Palladian revival architecture.

Maffei was instrumental in forming the tastes of Count Carlo Lodoli (1690-1761), another member of Smith's club, who played an important role in the Palladian revival. A famous teacher of philosophy in Venice, the most important of his activities was teaching in a school for the sons of the nobility: his pupils included Andrea and Bernardo Memmo, Giustinian, Angelo Querini. His teachings concerned the nature of society, the meaning of authority, and he paid particular attention to the duties of patricians. He wanted his pupils to apply the critical method, which he taught them, to Venetian State documents, and he came into conflict with the State Inquisition.[78] It may seem strange that Lodoli, theorist of politics, became an important figure in the eighteenth- century architectural renewal in Venice. However we must remember that during the enlightenment, architecture was intended as an art which had a didactic function and which could be an instrument of social renewal. Lodoli's masonic allegiance may have developed his passion for architecture.[79] A first proof of his membership is to be found in a book by Serman, Viaggi di Enrico Wanton 1764, where we read that Lodoli :

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[78] G.F. Torcellan, Una figura della Venezia settecentesca: Andrea Memmo. Ricerche sulla crisi dell'aristocrazia veneziana, Roma, 1963, pp. 30-35.

[79] Lodoli's principal interests were theoretical as the only building where he left practical work was the Convent of St. Francesco delle Vigne, 1743, Manlio Brusantin, Venezia nel Settecento, Venezia, 1980, pp.116-119.

> ottenne in fine (cioe' dopo esser stato lungamente disprezzato e deriso) qualche vantaggio; imperocche' prendendo la ragione ascendente sopra l'errore ed assuefatti gli orecchi dell'universale ad una dottrina, che parve sulle prime nemica di un'arte si nobile, e quasi rea di stato, per voler distruggere nell'opinione de' cittadini la riputazione verso le fabbriche piu' preziose ed accreditate gli riusci a farsi capo di setta e di ridurre sotto I suoi vessilli molti personaggi eminenti per grado, e per fama di sapere.[80]

Lodoli's aderence to masonic dogma might have confirmed him in his architectural theories. He believed in the social use of architecture and tried to express through this art his ideals of political and moral reform as architecture was for him the best reflection of an ideal society[81].

He proposed a new kind of architecture based on rationality, he preached simplicity and functionalism and he assumed that the invention of a true way of building originated from the Egyptians[82] which they communicated to the Phoenicians and the Etruscans: the Doric order might even be called the Egyptian

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[80] Z. Serman, Viaggi di Enrico Wanton alle terre incognite australi ed ai regni delle scienze e de cinocefali, I, 1764, Berna, p. 275.
[81] Brusantin, op. cit., p. 109.
[82] The Egyptian myth which had been object of different speculations by freemasons and Rosicrucians, influenced the Egyptianising architectural forms of the eighteenth century. See J. Curl, The Egyptian Revival, London, 1982, Lord Burlington possessed a book of Filippo Juvarra's sketches which has a number of imaginary scenes with Egyptianising motifs and he embellished his grouds at Chiswick with sphinxes on pedestals and with obelisks designed by William Kent. The chimneys at Chiswick are also obelisks. See Curl, Ibid, p. 81.

order,[83] he praised ancient architecture and Palladio's classicism and advised the architects to follow his example:

> Quante volte non udivasi egli lodare la magnifica semplicita' del Pantheon, e preferire il Palladio come il piu' puro, ed il piu' fastoso di tanti altri architetti. Nell'arte, aggiungeva, saranno sempre buenemeriti gli studii dei Scamozzi, dei Vignola e di tanti altri, I quali instradavano per le migliori vie che avevano in allora: e le fabbriche dei Romani restando in piedi non solo valeranno a farcene conoscere la istoria, ma ad ammirare la magificenza di quella immortale nazione..[84]

Other freemasons within his social circle included Francesco Algarotti who had been a freemason since 1734 and Lodoli's above mentioned disciples, Bernardo and Lorenzo Memmo, who eventually became freemasons.[85]

Francesco Algarotti (1712-1764), was the son of a very rich merchant who went to Paris aged twenty-one after his schooling, where he wrote what was to be his best known book, Il Newtonismo spiegato alle Dame (1733). His views on architecture developed under Lodoli's influence and are expressed in Saggio sopra l'Architettura (1756). Algarotti was an admirer of Palladio, in a letter he wrote

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[83] Andrea Memmo , Elementi dell'Architettura Lodoliana... o sia l'arte del fabbricare con solidita' scientifica e con eleganza capricciosa, Roma, 1786/1833, I, p. 299.
[84] quoted in Gambutti, Il dibattito sull'architettura nel Settecento europeo, Firenze, 1981, p. 133-134.
[85] Renata Targhetta, La massoneria veneta dalle origini alla chiusura delle logge 1729-1785, Udine, 1988, p. 109.

(5/7/1732) that Palladio was : "mandato ... da quegli antichi valenti Greci e da quel padre dell'architettura Vitruvio a mostrare altrui e fare scorgere lo splendore e la ricchezza di questa bella divina arte.."[86] and about his works he said: " ... vado vedendo e rivedendo queste divine opere del Palladio senza saziarmi giammai di loro dopo averle ben rivedute cento volte, che sveltezza, che eleganza, che simmetria, che proporzione, e cio' che piu' di queste cose stimo, che facilita' oltre la fermezza e la solidita'.."[87]

Algarotti was in London in 1734-36 and was made a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries in 1738 and lived for some time in Lord Harvey's[88] house in London, He knew Lord Burlington and called him " un altro Inigo Jones" and Palladio " il loro Newtono dell'architettura"[89]. He was a familiar figure all over Europe and since he was keenly interested in architecture he acted as an apostle of Palladianism. Frederick the Great admired him enormously and when he ascended to the throne, he endeavoured to induce Algarotti to settle at Potsdam,[90] where (between 1753-55) he contributed to the creation of some buildings copied from Palladio's projects for the Valmarana and Thiene palace. It is interesting to know that Algarotti ordered from London directly from Lord Burlington himself the Fabbriche Antiche and from Venice, Muttoni's edition of Palladio.[91]Fancesco Muttoni is the first important architect of Neo-Palladianism in the Veneto, and

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[86] Conte Algarotti , Opere, Vol. I, Venice, 1791-94, p. 28.
[87] Ibid, 323-324.
[88] Lord Harvey was intimate friend of Pope, Swift and member of the Scribblerian club.
[89] Conte Algarotti,op.cit, Vol. 8, pp. 149, 227.
[90] Ryckwert, op.cit., p. 296; Algarotti founded a masonic lodge at Potsdam and Frederick the Great became a member of it, See R. Targhetta, op. cit., pp. 32-37.
[91] Conte Algarotti, op. cit., Vol. 15, p. 155-160.

once again, it was an English feemason, Thomas Twisden [92] who in 1708 commissioned him to produce a series of Dissegni and annotazioni of Roman and Palladian buildings.[93] This document is also important as it shows that there was a renewed interest in Palladio in the Veneto as early as 1708; well before Campbell's Vitruvius Britannicus (1715) and Giacomo Leoni' s Quattro Libri (1716).

Consul Smith, who patronized the major Venetian painters of the eighteenth century (Canaletto, Sebastiano and Marco Ricci, Visentini, Rosalba Carrera) was also a promoter of a Neo-Palladianism in Venice and probably involved in Freemasonry. [94] According to Francovich he was, together with his brother-in-law John Murray : " se non il fondatore, per lo meno il promotore della loggia massonica veneziana.".[95] Moreover all the intellectuals and artists who attended the salon in his house on the Grand Canal (Maffei, Algarotti, Lodoli, Memmo) were in some way or other connected with Freemasonry and it was the Duke of Richmond (Grand Master in 1695) who supported his candidature as consul in Venice.[96] Not only was Smith an international freemason and foreign diplomat he also acted as an intellectual conduit through his publishing activity and his championing of Neo-Palladian revival. As a publisher he worked with

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[92] Thomas Twisden was one of the founders of a masonic lodge in Rome between 1735-1737.

[93] This book of drawings is now kept in the library of the C.I.S.A Institute of Vicenza. Lionello Puppi, "Alle Origini del Neopalladianesimo, Il contributo comasco di Francesco Muttoni", Arte Lombarda, 198, pp. 236-42; see also Douglas Lewis," A New book of drawings by Franceso Muttoni", Arte Veneta, XXX ,1976, pp.132-146.

[94] In 1754 he met also his son Charles, Grand Master in 1724, object of a dedication together with duke Montagu in Batty Langley's "Ancient Architecture Restored" ; see Eileen Harris, op. cit.; see F. Vivian , Il console Smith mercante collezionista, Vicenza, 1971, p. 56.

[95] C. Francovich, op. cit., p. 138.

[96] R. Targhetta, op. cit., p. 50-51; see also Paola Moresca and Vincenzo Vaccaro, "Massoneria ed ermetismo nella Napoli del 700", Psicon, n. 4, 1975, pp.101-111.

Giovan Battista Pasquali around 1731. He published foreign works, those of Newton and Voltaire (with whom he was in contact) and Italian works like Algarotti's Opere (1754) and Goldoni's plays (1761) and interestingly for us, the Italian translation of Ephrain Chambers ' Cyclopedia in 1750. [97] This work, the first encyclopaedia of the eighteenth century , was published in London in 1728. Chambers was an associate of James Anderson and belonged to the Grand Lodge. The publication of this work in England was assisted by a number of freemasons, including John Senex (see above) and the Cyclopedia helped to disseminate Newton's ideas. It also carried out an account of British Freemasonry.[98] Lord Burlington possessed a copy of this work and subscribed to it [99].

Apart from his publishing of Temanza's work Vita di Andrea Palladio in 1761, the most pertinent evidence of Consul Smith's interest in Palladio is his commissioning of two sets of paintings representing Palladian and Neo-Palladian buildings from Canaletto, Visentini and Zuccarelli towards 1740. The first set illustrated the great Venetian works of the sixteenth century. Palladio is represented by the churches of S. Giorgio Maggiore, S. Francesco della Vigna, the Redentore, la Rotonda, the Cloister of la Carita' and a design of Rialto bridge (Fig. 166, 167, 168, 169). The other set of paintings reveals Smith's appreciation of English Palladianism, as did his patronage of the architect, painter, engraver Antonio Visentini, another true Palladian, follower of Lodoli's theories and

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[97] F. Vivian, op. cit., pp. 97-98.

[98] According to James Curl, Chambers' work inspired the Encyclopedie of Diderot and D' Alambert published from 1751 and Diderot commissioned a frontispiece from the freemason C.N. Cochim, who used Masonic symbolism for the design. See James Stevens Curl, op. cit., 1991, p. 116.

[99] John Carre', "Lord Burlington's Subscriptions", paper presented at the Georgian group Symposium: 3rd Earl of Burlington, The Man and his Politics, London, Feb. 24, 1995.

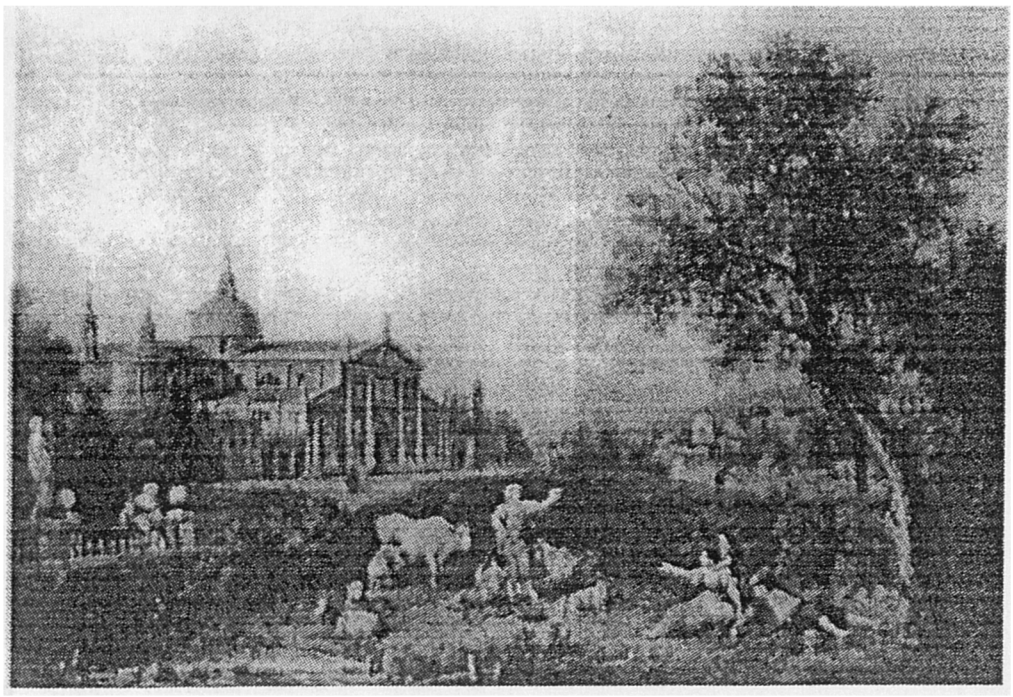

Fig. 166 Antonio Visentini, Francesco Zuccarelli, La Chiesa di S. Giorgio, 1744-46, London, private collection.

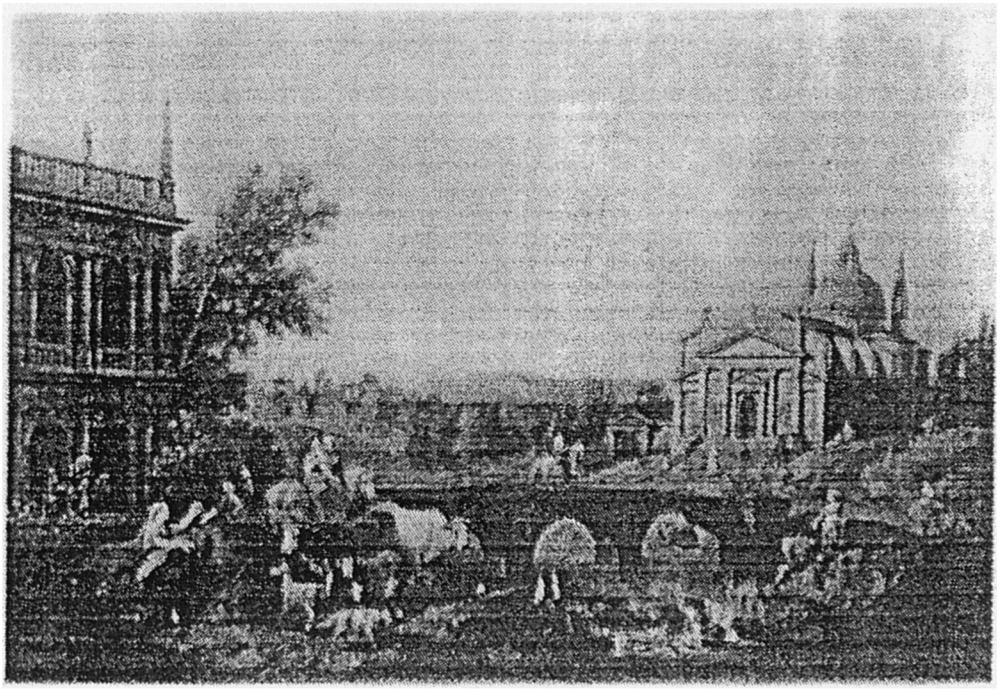

Fig. 167 Antonio Visentini, Francesco Zuccarelli, La Chiesa del Redentore, 1744-46, London, private collection.

Fig. 168 Antonio Visentini, Francesco Zuccarelli, La Rotonda del Palladio a Vicenza, 1744–46. London, private collection.

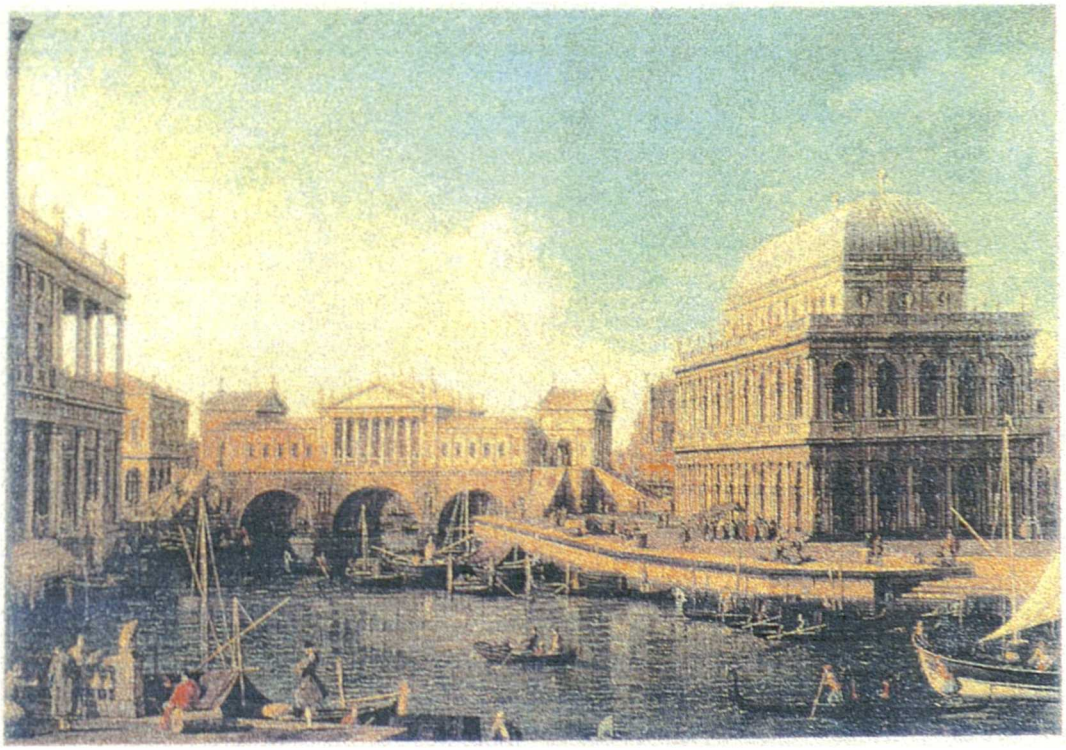

Fig. 169 Canaletto, il Ponte di Rialto secondo il progetto di Palladio, probably 1743. Oil on canvas 56 x 79 cm. Galleria Nazionale, Parma. Together with Rialto's bridge there are here represented two other famous palladian buildings: on the right the Basilica of Vicenza and on the left Palazzo Chiericati. This bridge served Lord Pembroke as a model for Wilton bridge and for the palladian bridges at Prior Park, Hagley and Stowe.

collaborator of Poleni for whom he provided the illustrations for Poleni's work Exercitationes Vitruvianae (Padua 1739-41).[100] Visentini never visited England. The sources of these eleven "capricci" with Neo-Palladian buildings painted by Visentini and set in a romantic Venetian landscape by Zuccarelli, were Colen Campbell's "Vitruvius Britannicus and Kent's Designs of Inigo Jones[101] (Fig. 170, 171, 172).

It was probably Algarotti who pushed Smith to transform his architectural ideals into pictorial representations. Algarotti was the promoter of a new kind of painting which in the same work of art united buildings geographically very far apart (Palladian buildings, Roman Ruins, temples, pyramids, tombs) and placed them in an idyllic landscape. These " Capricci Architettonici"[102], according to Algarotti consisted of "... pigliare un sito dal vero e ornarlo poi con belli edifizi ... in tal modo si viene a riunire la natura e l'arte e si puo' fare un raro innesto di quanto l'una ha di piu' studiato su quello che l'altra presenta di piu' semplice.."[103] and like the landscape gardens they had to provoke in the minds of the observer a kind of mental association.

It is not impossible therefore that these Capricci (Fig. 173, 174), which combined Egyptian architectural features such as pyramids, columns, sphinxs

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[100] Antonio Visentini in his "Trattato delle diligenti osservazioni, fate sopra le fabbriche d'Andrea Palladio" wrote: "... Altro cercar non si deve, perche' tutto nel Palladio si trova con gran frutto..." quoted in Anna Delnieri, Capricci Veneziani del 700, Torino, V. Allemandi, 1988, p. 244; Visentini designed the facade of two palaces in Venice: Smith's palace at SS. Apostoli on the Grand Canal and Palace Coletti-Giusti.

[101] F. Vivian, op. cit., 1963, pp. 341-353.

[102] The Capriccio Architettonico, of which Canaletto and Visentini are the best representatives, is to be distinguished from the Capriccio paesagistico-rovinistico whose main creators are Magnasco, Carlevarijs, Zuccarelli, Marco Ricci. See Dario Succi, "L'arte dell'arte: I Capricci veneziani del Settecento",in Capricci Veneziani del 700, Torino, 1988, pp. 1-38.

[103] Ibid., p.27.

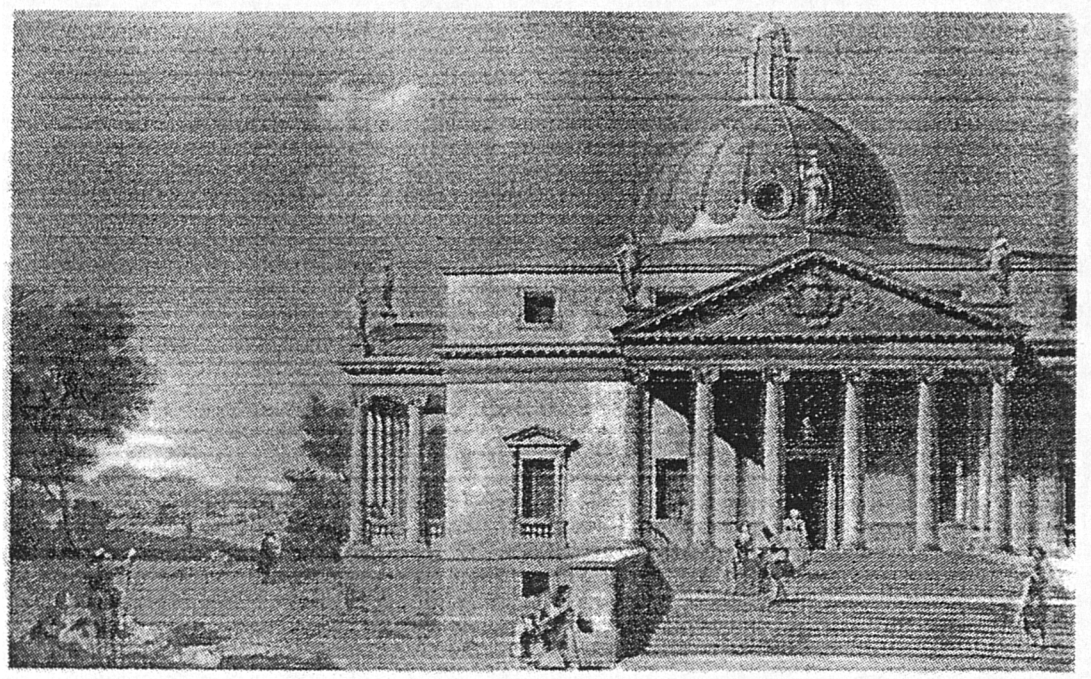

Fig. 170 Antonio Visentini, Francesco Zuccarelli Mereworth, 1746. Canvas 85 x 133 cm., Windsor Castle.

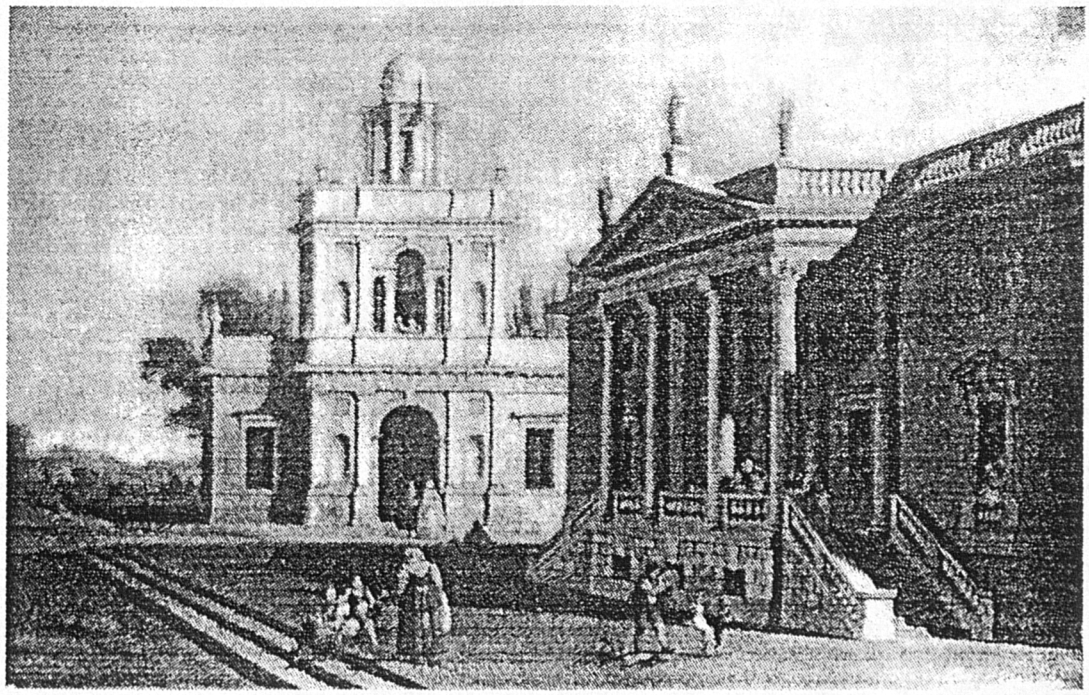

Fig. 171 Antonio Visentini, Francesco Zuccarelli, The Temple at Chiswick and Stourhead, 1746. Canvas 18 x 131 cm. (Whereabouts unknown).

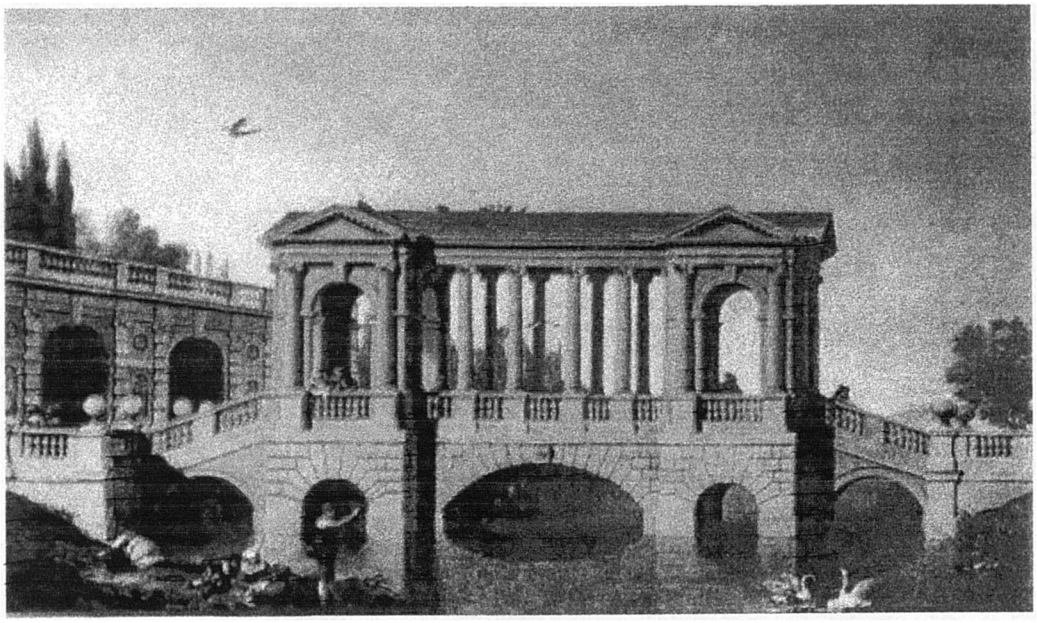

Fig. 172 Antonio Visentini, Francesco Zuccarelli, Il Ponte di Wilton, 1746. Oil on canvas 77.5 x 130 cm. Venice, private collection. This Palladian bridge was designed by the Earl of Pembroke (1689-1750) and Roger Morris (d. 1742) in 1736-7 for Wilton House in Wiltshire. The model was derived from A. Palladio's unused design for the Rialto bridge. See Canaletto's painting fig. 169.

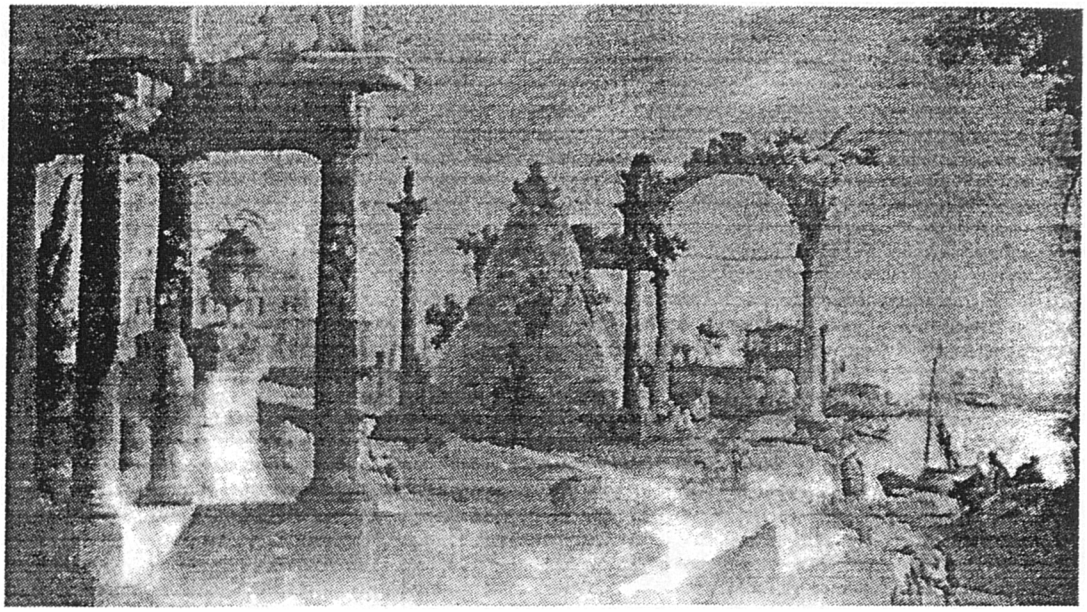

Fig. 173 Canaletto, Capriccio: classical ruins, the Basilica of Vicenza, the Arch of Constantino, 1723, 180 x 323 cm. , Switzerland. Private collection.

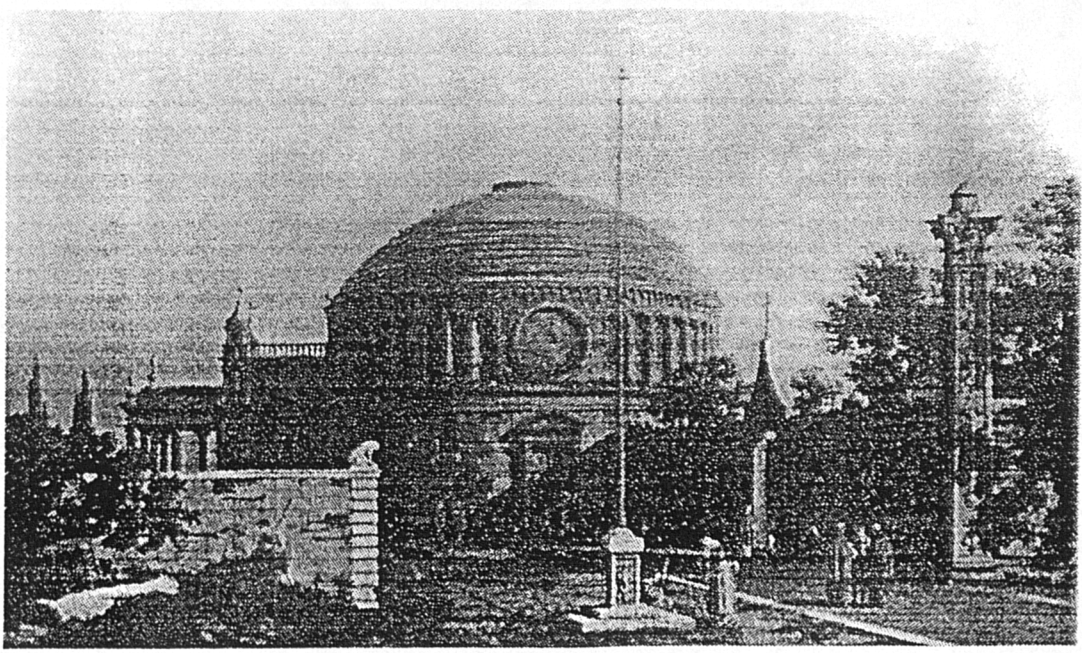

Fig. 174 Canaletto, Capriccio: a domed circular church, 1751-55, oil on canvas, 44 x 71.5 cm. Worcester collection, Art Museum.

with pantheon-like temples, obelisks and tombs, could express the utopian dream of the freemason Venetian intellectuals. Canaletto and Visentini after all belonged to Smith's club and, if they were not freemasons themselves, they were bound to express in their paintings the ideals of their patron and his avant-garde intellectual circle.

A. Corboz has suggested that both Canaletto and Visentini shared masonic ideals,[104] demonstrating that Canaletto's post 1740 Capricci, can be seen as an ambiguous, enigmatic way of transmitting certains utopian subversive freemasonic ideals which could not be expressed directly in the Venetian society of the eighteenth century. Only those who knew the appropriate codes could decipher these allusions, and these were to be found among the educated cosmopolitan Venetian élite.

The constant presence in these Capricci of masonic emblems like circular temples, broken columns, pyramids, tombs, pillars, in a single landscape and the fact that Canaletto produced Capricci for two freemasons, Lord Bedford and Harvey supports Corboz's ideas.

Corboz starts his masonic analysis of Canaletto's works with the Capriccio here illustrated (Fig. 175) If we look at the painting with a "masonic eye" we see a round temple which could be a reference to the Solomonic temple. This temple was sided, as we have seen, by two higher columns which were identified with

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[104] A. Corboz, Una Venezia immaginaria, Milano, 1985, I, pp. 437-470.

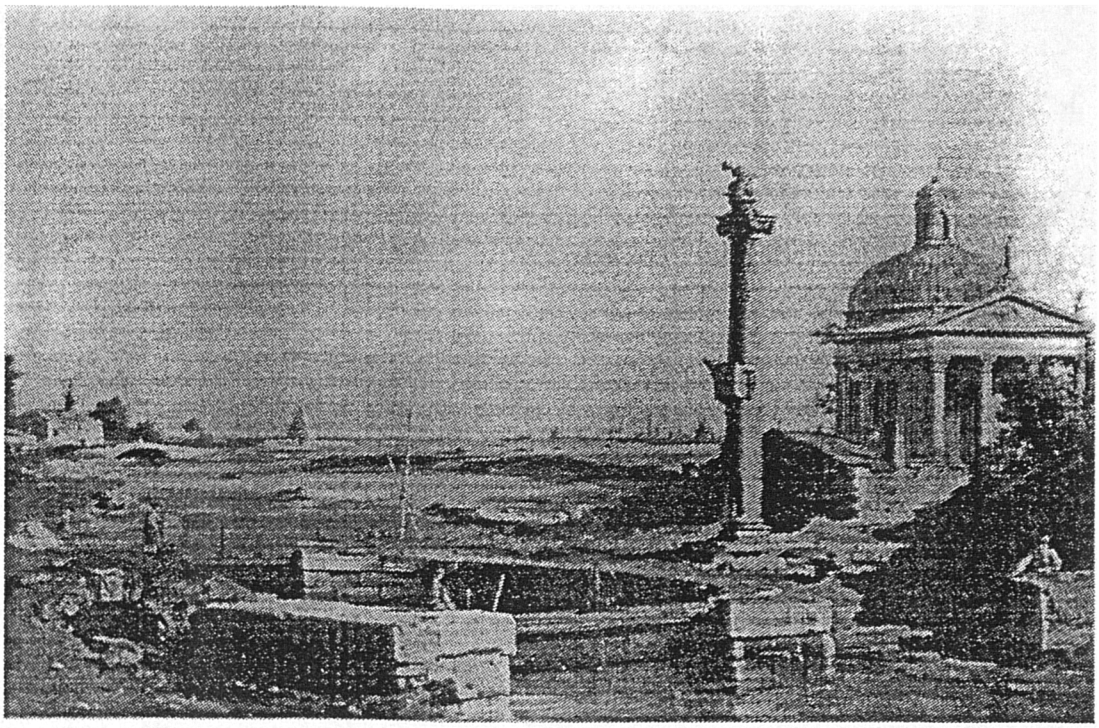

Fig. 175 Canaletto, Capriccio: island in the Lagoon, with a church and a column, 1741-44. Oil on canvas 51 x 68.5 cm.,Washington, David E. Rust collection.

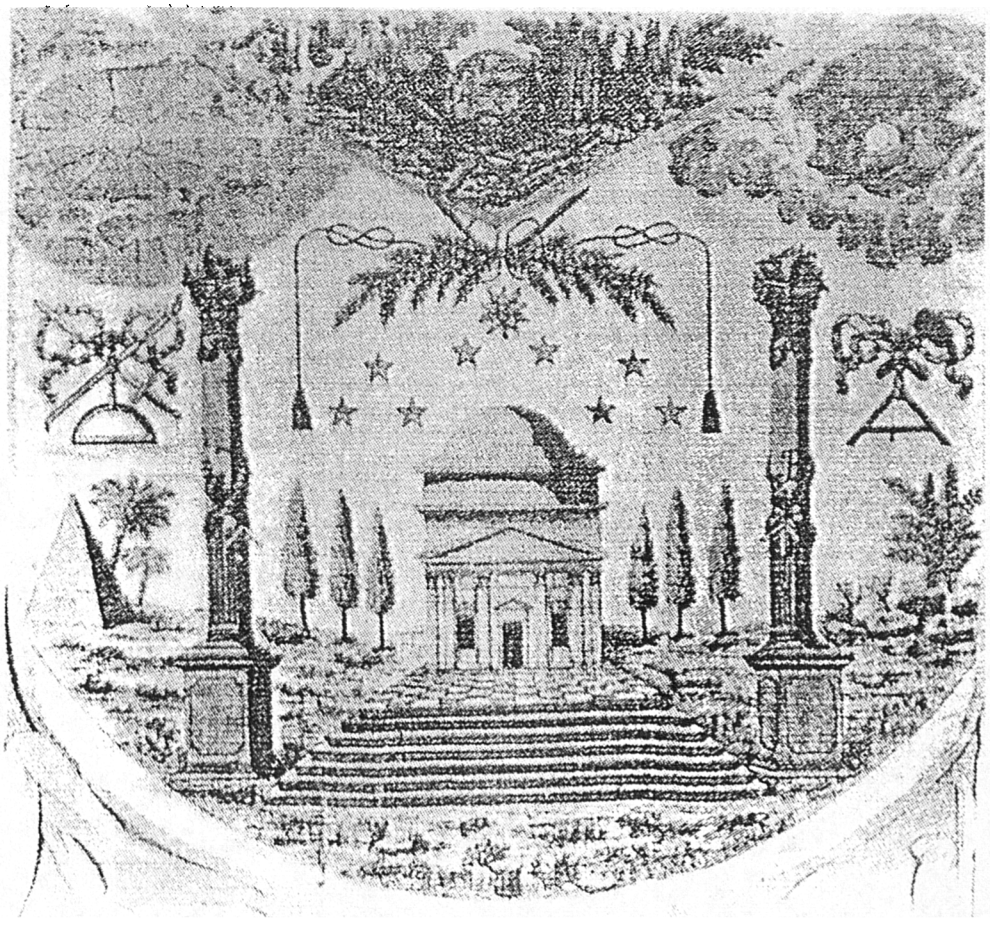

Fig. 176 Masonic apron used by Voltaire for his initiation to the grade of apprentice, 1778

Joachim (establishment and egality) and Boaz (strength).[105] An Ionic column higher than the temple is set on one side of the Pantheon and the composition of the picture implies the probable presence of another column on the other side of the temple. At the horizon we see a pyramid and on the left side near the temple a kind of underground passage, which could be the entrance to the crypt of the temple or the starting point of the trial journey for masonic initiation. If then we compare this painting with a masonic icon (Fig.176) the resemblance appears evident.

Corboz analyzes many other Capricci looking for masonic symbols but he never mentions the precursor of Canaletto in this kind of painting: Marco Ricci (1676-1730). At this point we can wonder if Ricci's Capricci could also express masonic ideals. Ricci painted his first " Capriccio architettonico" in England in 1709-1710.[106] He left Italy for England in 1708 with Charles Montagu (later to become Grand Master in 1721)[107] and through him he met Lord Carlisle who commissioned him to produce about forty paintings to decorate his country seat at Castle Howard. [108] One of them was the above mentioned " Capriccio con cavalieri e statua clipeata" (Fig. 177) which featured a round temple, a pyramid, a broken column and a tomb[109]. In masonic symbolism, the broken columns

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[105] In many masonic certificates of the seventeenth century, however we find three sets of columns of three orders which derive from mixing some associations of columns of the Vitruvian orders and the pillars legend. The three orders acquired a symbolism: Doric for Strength, Ionic for Wisdom and Corinthian for Beauty, see Betty Langley's illustration of the The Builder's Jewel (1741) that shows the three orders with masonic emblems.

[106] Dario Succi and Anna Delnieri, Marco Ricci e il paesaggio Veneto del 700, Milano, 1993, pp. 97-112.

[107] Bernard Fay, op. cit., p. 141.

[108] Lord Carlisle was also most probably a mason since together with the freemason Francis Dashwood he founded the society of Dilettanti whose members had strong links with. masonry.

[109] This work was shown for the first time in an exibition at Bassano (Italy) in 1993

symbolized the destruction of the Solomonic Temple and the effort that every brother has to make in order to build a new ideal temple, while the tomb is a reference to the Hiramic legend. According to this legend Hiram, the builder of the Solomonic temple, was murdered by two mason workers who wanted him to reveal the secret of its construction, and they buried him clandestinely. Hiram resurrected and punished his murderers. The initiate to the third grade of Freemasonry embodies Hiram and his feigned resurrection signifies the rebirth to a new moral enlightened life.

In England Ricci subscribed also to Giacomo Leoni's edition of Palladio's Quattro Libri published in 1716 . [110] When he came back from England the same year he started working for Consul Smith and from 1719-1729 he concentrated on stage design (50 sketches of them belonged to Smith's collection). These designs represented Palladian architectures and can be regarded as the first example of a Neo-Palladian revival in Italy. Ricci was certainly influenced by the Neo-Palladianists in England. We know that he also worked with his brother Sebastiano Ricci for Lord Burlington.[111]

After his return from England and especially in the last decade of his activity (he died in 1730) he also concentrated on "Capricci architettonici" where we find tombs, pyramids, sphinxes, round temples, obelisks, broken columns, set in a landscape (Fig. 178, 179). In one of these Capricci shown here (Fig. 180) we find several masonic symbols. On the foreground a broken column, a sphinx (the guardian of Mysteries), and a sarcophagus with some people who seem to have

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[110] Dario Succi, op.cit., p.112.
[111] Ibid, p. 111.

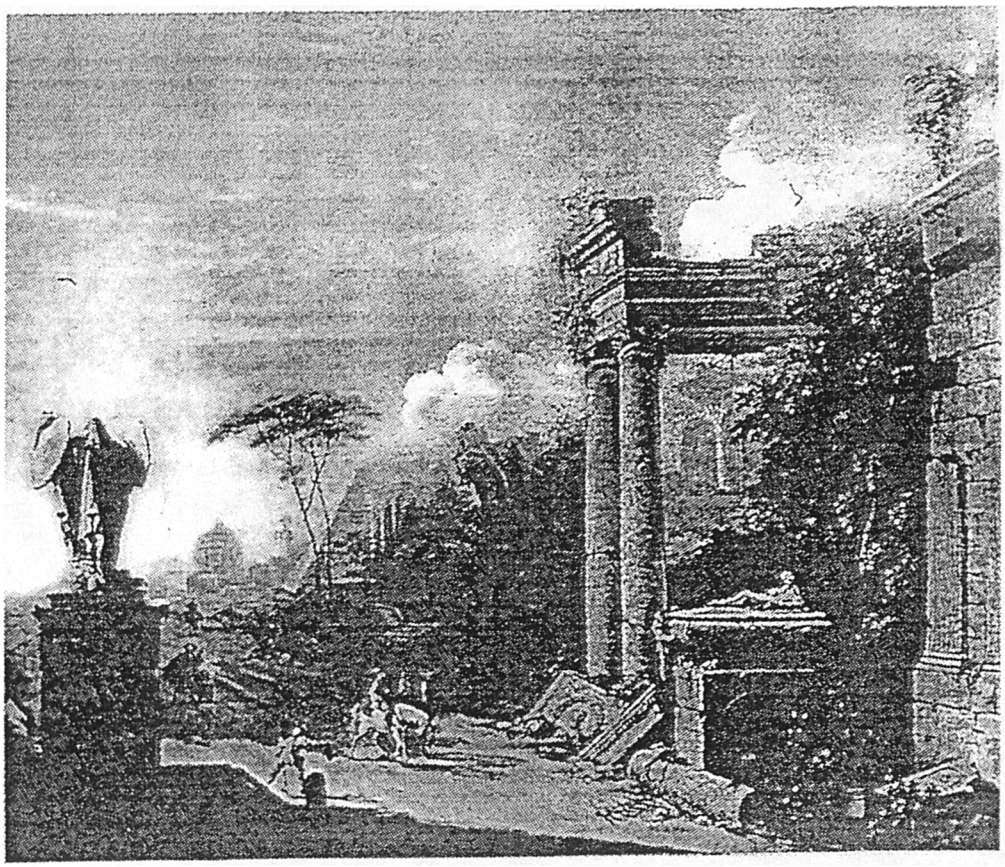

Fig. 177 Marco Ricci, Capriccio con cavalieri e statua clipeata, 1709-1710. Simon Howard collection, Castle Howard.

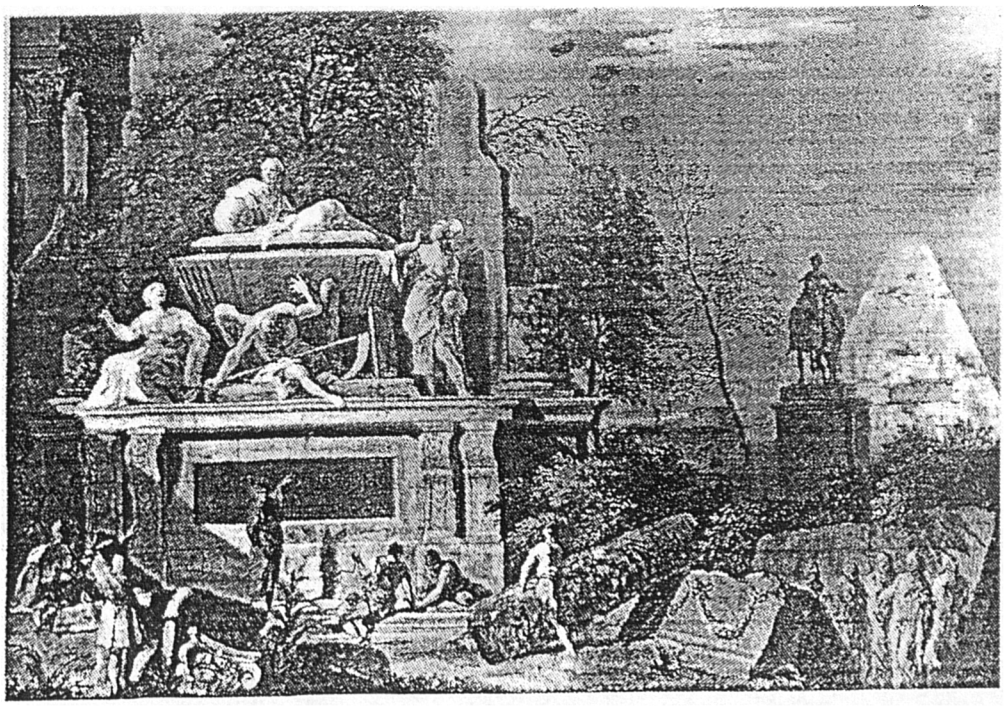

Fig. 178 Marco Ricci, Allegorical tomb of Newton, Royal Library, Windsor Castle.

Fig. 178 Marco Ricci., Classical Ruins with figures, 30.5 x 45 cm. Museo Cvico, Belluno.

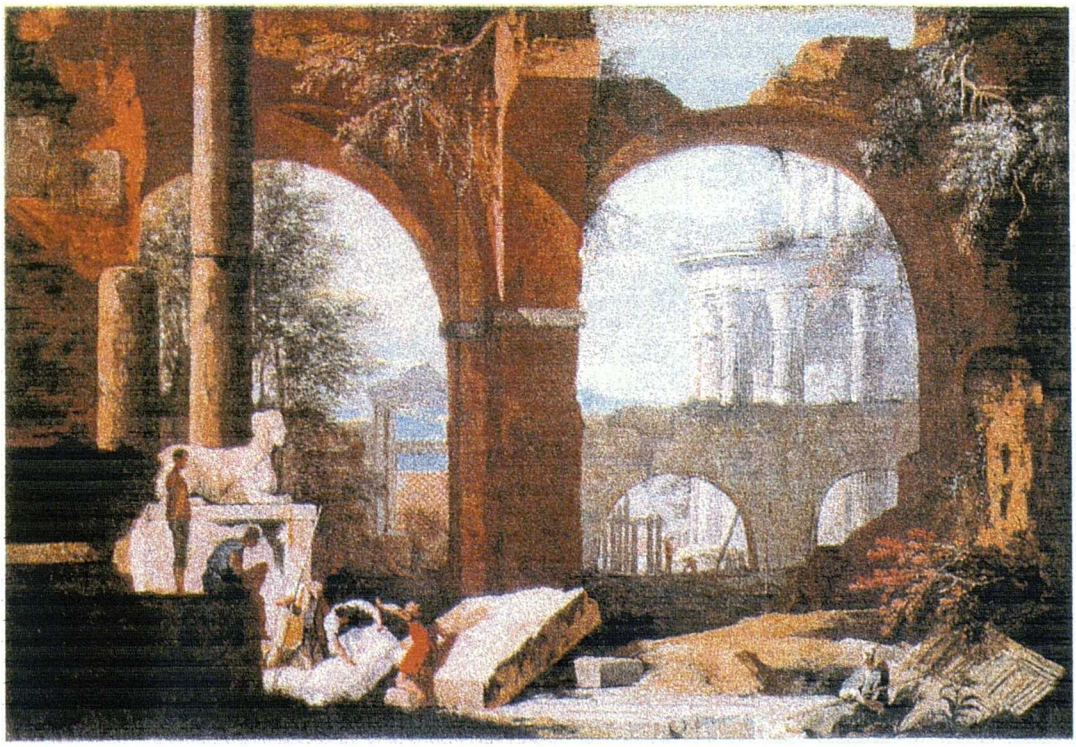

Fig. 179 Marco Ricci, Capriccio architettonico with sphinx, arches and round temple, 1735, 30 x 44 cm. Treviso, private collection.

found something. This could be a reference to the discovery of Hiram's corpse. In the background a round temple could symbolize the ideal temple that the brothers have to build.

Marco Ricci, well before Canaletto, seems to express with his "Capricci" a probable masonic ideal. Certainly the years spent in England among the promoters of the future artistic cultural renovation in England played an important role in his formation.

Therefore the "Capricci" with ideal forms of architecture, the utopian cities set against ruins in the foreground in certain paintings by Canaletto and Marco Ricci could correspond to the awareness of a reality different from the utopian one and at the same time the willingness - of the avant-guard Venetian élite - to persevere with dreams and hopes to reach that utopian state. At the same time one is struck by the affinity between the "Capricci architettonici " and the early English landscape garden. The same architectural forms that appear in a "Capriccio Architettonico" seem to be present in the early English landscape garden. We have seen how in these gardens temples, obelisks, pyramids, urns, columns were scattered in an irregular landscape and how their shape and position in the garden was emblematic, carrying a specific message to be decoded by the enlightened visitor. Like these gardens, the " Capricci" are also representations of landscapes with classical,

Palladian, Egyptian buildings which could be interpreted as carrying, a masonic message. Thus this similarity would open up the possibility that the Georgian gardens too, in part, express the utopian enlightened masonic ideals of the connoisseurs who created them.

Conclusion

The development of the art of landscape gardens in eighteenth century England was a complex process for which no single explanation will suffice.

The history of gardens has steadily evolved in accordance with definite standards of taste that have determined how the water, trees and the hill-slopes should be treated. This being the case, the history of gardening gains an added significance and becomes a reflection of the mind and feeling of an age, an index of its civilisation as instructive in its way as literature, painting, sculpture, or architecture.

In the first part of this dissertation, I sought to explain in which way the appreciation of Chinese civilisation and art fostered the reaction against formal gardens. I am not assuming that China enthusiasts and garden amateurs of the eighteenth century were sufficiently informed about the cultural tradition of the Far East to be able to appreciate completely the poetic symbolism and philosophical allusions characteristic of Chinese gardens. Nevertheless the innumerable descriptions and illustrations which reached the West acted as stimulating impetus in arousing the imagination of the first landscape gardeners. The more widely the knowledge of Chinese arts, including gardens, was diffused in Europe, the more manifest did it become that in these could be found support and nourishment for the aesthetic needs and artistic ideals of that period.

In the second part, I have tried to summarize Opposition ideals and demonstrate how these political views were expressed through the architecture of

these gardens including those of the country house. Those people who criticized Walpole's corrupt administration believed in the Old Whig ideals of the great republican thinkers of the Commonwealth who looked up to Venice as a model of good government and sometimes used in their pamphlet Venetian observers as appropriate mouthpiece for a sensible perspective on the disturbing English scene[112]. In the same way China was used in the eighteenth century to show up the defects of Walpole's government. As I have tried to demonstrate China was thought of as a country governed by enlightened people, and was held as example by the Opposition writers in the same way as Venice . The freedom of Chinese landscape garden design could have represented for those at the opposition, the reflection of the liberal moral society which produced them. But while China was far away and its history was known only through Jesuits' reports, Venice was nearer and since the Renaissance had had close contacts with England. The link with Venice was strengthened in the eighteenth century through Freemasonry. The Venetian intellectual élite, who were trying to reform the declining republic, believed in the same enlightenment ideals as the English "virtuosi" and there was a continuous exchange of political and artistic ideas between England and Venice.

From the last part it also becomes evident that Freemasonry had an influence on the architecture of the eighteenth century. The favour shown for, and the spread of Neo-Palladian architecture was due to a specifically semantic value which Freemasons and oppositional circles attributed to this style as a "moral

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[112] James Howell, A Venice looking -glass or a letter written very lately from London to Rome by a Venetian Clarissimo, London, 1648.

style". The declared aim of these government opponents was victory over a power apparatus personified by the Prime Minister, Sir Robert Walpole, with office patronage and electoral corruption and they discovered the same principles embodied in the Freemasons' ethical demands: the education of Man to a better nature and as a consequence of this the improvement of society .

However, tolerance, equality, universalism, civic duty, natural religion, morality, borrowing from exotic cultures, were all features of the tastes of those who embraced the ideals of Freemasonry as well as those of the Enlightenment. Therefore we can affirm that the early landscape garden is above all an expression of the Enlightenment ideals. It was the Enlightenment's political and moral ideas (deism, natural law, enlightened government) which inspired the ideology underpinning the developments in English garden design which spread out both from the irregularity of Chinese gardens and from Palladian buildings associated with the civic and moral virtues of the republic of Venice, the perceived follower of the Roman republic. The same kind of virtues and ideals which existed in the Britain of King Alfred but were now lost and the landowners of the political Opposition wanted to restore.

Appendix

Landlords and artists as freemasons

We may now consider which artists, connoisseurs and intellectuals, who made an important contribution to the development of the architecture and design of the early English landscape garden, belonged to the Craft.

The renowned poet and satirist Alexander Pope (together with his intimate friend Jonathan Swift) was made a mason sometime before 1730 at a lodge which met at the Red Lion, Tottenham Court Road. In the same list of members appears as Grand Mason Thomas Coke Earl of Leicester (Holkham)[113]together with the freemason Dr. John Arbuthnot and Edward Harley 2nd Earl of Oxford (Wimpole Hall) all coincidentally founders of the "Scribblerus Club" in 1714 whose members opposed the Walpole government and used all the techniques of ridicule and personal satire against the Prime Minister and his policies.[114]

Pope's reference to Rosicrucianism in the preface of The Rape of the Lock (1712) confirms his interest in the Craft [115]and the quotation of his poem The Universal Prayer (1738) in Pure Ancient Masonry shows that though labelled as Catholic,

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[113] W.J. Williams," Alexander Pope and Freemasonry", Ars Quatuor Coronatorum, Vol. XXXVIII, 1925, p. 112.

[114] Bertrand A. Goldgar, Walpole and the Wits, London, 1976, pp. 19-35. The Opposition Tory Edward Harley was Toland's most influent patron, he encouraged him to reprint Harrington's Oceana, and Toland wrote many pamphlets under his suggestion. See Chiara Giuntini, Pantheismo e ideologia repubblicana: John Toland 1670-1722, Bologna, 1979, p 193; M. C. Jacob, op.cit, 1981, p. 79.

[115] Pope explains that he wants to make acquainted the reader with the Rosicrucian doctrine of spirits.

his ideas about religion could be similar to the masonic universal religion. The passage from the Universal Prayer namely says:

> Father of all! in ev'ry age
> In every clime adored,
> By saint, by savage, and by sage
> Jehovah, Jove, or Lord.[116]

Viscount Cobham, the owner of Stowe, was a member of Queen's Head lodge in Bath from 1725 [117] and his associate Philip Stanhope, Earl of Chesterfield (Chesterfield House) was included in the list of members of the first official lodge on the Continent which opened at the Hague in 1731.[118] In the same year he was created Master of the Norwich Maid's Head Lodge together with Thomas Pelham, Duke of Newcastle.[119] Newcastle and his brother Henry Pelham (Esher) shared Opposition ideals.[120]

The postmaster of Bath Ralph Allen (Prior Park) was also almost certainly a freemason. His well known philanthropy, his friendship with Lord Chesterfield, the Boy Patriots, in particularly Pitt, the Pelhams, Coke, Burlington and Pope is an evidence of his moral and liberal ideas and as reported by Boyce: " significant of Allen's friendship with the catholic poet were the passages in which the latter

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[116] W. J. Williams, op.cit,p 114.
[117] E. Lennhoff, O. Posner, Internationaler Freimauer Lexicon, Graz, 1932, p. 283.
[118] A.Mellor, op.cit, p. 134.
[119] J. Anderson, op. cit., p. 129.
[120] A.S. Foord ,His majesty's Opposition 1714-1830, Oxford, 1964, p. 145.

expressed his determination to transcend religious superstitions and bias, his dislike of party divisions in the nation,.... such liberal doctrine would appeal to Allen".[121] Moreover Allen's architect John Wood was a freemason, who in his architectural treatise The Origin of Building: or the Plagiarism of the Heathen detected (1741), derives the origins of the proportional rules and Vitruvian orders from the Solomonic Temple.[122] This temple, as I have already mentioned, had a metaphorical meaning for freemasons as it symbolized Divine Wisdom and was held as an absolute model and original divine exemplar for all buildings. John Wood, as we have seen, planned to build the park chapel for the garden at Prior Park on the model of Solomon's Temple. William Stuckley, an eminent antiquarian and freemason was also interested in this type of building and in 1721 he showed Newton his drawing for the Solomonic Temple.[123] William Stuckley was a close friend of Henry Herbert Earl of Pembroke who, as already mentioned, appears together with Sir Andrew Fountaine a well known collector and dilettante architect in the dedication of Batty Langley's Ancient Masonry as prominent freemasons. Pembroke's protégé Robert Morris, the author of Defence of Ancient Architecture, whose taste in architecture derived from Burlington, according to Ryckwert most probably was a member of a masonic lodge where he gave lectures in architecture.[124] To this list can be added the name of: the journalist Joseph Addison [125](1672-1719), whose writings exhibit a re-evaluation of the

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[121] Benjamin Boyce, The Benevolent Man, Cambridge, 1967, p. 65.
[122] Ibid., p. 137.
[123] Ryckwert, .op.cit, 156-159.
[124] Ibid., p.190.
[125] A Wolfstieg, Ursprung und Entwicklung der Freimaurei ihre geschichlichen Sozialen und geistigen Wurzeln, Berlin, 1920, p. 194.

theory of Nature, the garden designer Stephen Switzer[126] (1681-1745), who first advanced a search for non-regularity in the garden design in his work Ichnographia Rustica (1718) and the poet James Thomson[127] whose famous works (Liberty, The Seasons, Britannia) expressed the Opposition political and philosophical sentiments, all of whom figure significantly in the developments in gardening of the first half of the eighteenth century.

That Lord Burlington was an important mason is evident from the first edition of James Anderson's Constitutions...., where it is written:

> Then in our songs be justice done,
> To those who have enrich'd the Art,
> From Jabal down to Burlington
> and let each Brother bear a part
> Let noble Masons' Healths go round
> Their praise in lofty Lodge resound."[128]

Burlington was also a subscriber of Desaguliers' Experimental Philosophy (1734) together with other freemasons.[129] His membership is also proved by a poem written by Lord Hervey where the author refers to Lady Burlington as " Lady Palladio" and continues: "... not to her Mason-husband be it told....."[130].

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[126] D Knoop. and G.P. Jones.,The London Masons, Manchester, 1935, p. 28.
[127] Alan Dugald Mckillop, "The Background of Thomson's Liberty," in The Rice Institute Pamphlet, Vol. XXXVIII Jul. 1951, n. 2, pp. 6-117.
[128] J. Anderson,op.cit., p. 208.
[129] Bernard Fay, op.cit., p. 102.
[130] B.S. Allen, Tides in English Taste, 2 Vols., New York, 1937, I, p. 104.

Moreover the members of the most famous eighteenth century English clubs like the Kit Kat Club[131], the Society of Dilettanti,[132] the Society of Antiquaries[133] were also freemasons and some of these clubs even imitated the ritual aspects of Freemasonry[134]. These clubs included upper and middle-class members and sometime people who expressed a variety of political orientations united on a campaign to ameliorate society through their mutual cultural convictions.

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[131] Lord Cobham (Stowe), Addison, Richard Steele, William Congreve, Sir Godfrey Kneller, General Dormer (Rousham), Earl of Burlington (Chiswick), John Vanbrugh, Earl of Carlisle (Castle Howard) belonged to the Kit Kat Club.

[132] Francis Dashwood (West Wycombe), the Earl of Carlisle, the antiquarian William Hamilton belonged to this society whose members, as proved by Shearer West, op. cit., believed in republican liberty, religious freedom and disliked Walpole's party.

[133] Lord Burlington, Francis Dashwood, William Stuckely, Frances Drake, John Wood, Duke of Montagu belonged to this Club.

[134] The members of the Kit Kat Club called its members knights and had a president who taught "What faith the priests of all Religion hold..." see Margaret C. Jakob, op. cit., 1991 p. 69; The Officiers of the Society of Dilettanti included the title of ArchMaster, a title associated with Masons, see Shearer West, op. cit.

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